Imprimatur.

Carolus Alſton, R. P. D. *Hen.*
Nov. 20. 1690. Epiſc. *Lond.* à Sacris.

Imprimatur.

Carolus Alſton, R. P. D. *Hen.*
Nov. 20. 1690. Epiſc. *Lond.* à Sacris.

A TREATISE OF *Moral* and *Intellectual* VIRTUES;

WHEREIN

Their NATURE is fully explained, and their USEFULNESS proved,

AS BEING

The best Rules of LIFE.

AND

The Causes of their Decay are enquired into; concluding with such Arguments as tend to revive the Practice of them.

WITH

A PREFACE shewing the Vanity and Deceitfulness of VICE.

Est modus in rebus, sunt certi denique fines,
Quos ultrà citràque nequit consistere rectum.

By JOHN HARTCLIFFE, B. D. and Fellow of *Kings* College, *Cambridge*.

London: Printed for *C. Harper*, at the *Flower-de-luce* over against S. *Dunstan's* Church, *Fleet-street*, 1691.

BJ1001
.H3

M. C. W. Nov. 5 '09.

To the Right Honorable

CHARLES

Earl of *Maclesfeld*,

Lord Preſident and Lord Lieutenant of the Principality of *Wales*, Lord Lieutenant of the Counties of *Glouceſter*, *Hereford*, and *Monmouth*, and of the City and County of *Briſtol*, and one of the Lords of Their Majeſties moſt Honorable Privy Council.

May it pleaſe your Lordſhip,

THE Cauſe of Virtue belongs to *great* and *brave* Men; therefore I thought it my Duty to

lay this Treatiſe at your Lordſhips Feet; it will not much enlarge your Thoughts, or acquaint you with any new things; but I hope, it may pleaſe the Generoſity of your Temper, to read the Characters of Virtues, the greateſt Ornaments of that pure Religion, which your Lordſhip hath labour-ed ſo much to recover from the Knavery and baſe Cor-ruptions, as well as Bondage of Popery: For the *Jeſuits Morals* are as deſtructive of a good Life, and as perni-cious to human Society, as their

their Plots and their Gun-Powder.

I am very well ſatisfied, that if I had ſought a Patron in all the Liſt of Noble Perſons, I could not have found a more proper or competent Judge in a Diſcourſe of this Nature; becauſe your Lordſhips Caſe, and that of Virtue it ſelf, have been much alike; you have been both perſecuted for your Integrity and Truth; but like Truth, you muſt and ſhall prevail, in ſpight of the *malicious* and the *falſe*, the *Paraſite* or the *Detractor*.

I have not troubled your Lordſhip with the fine and nice Speculations in Divinity, becauſe they have done our Religion much Diſ-ſervice, by raiſing a multitude of Queſtions, which neither advance true Piety, nor good Manners: But I preſent your Lordſhip with the Rules of naked Truth and Reaſon; the free Uſe whereof is as much our Birthright, as any thing elſe: Therefore your Lordſhips Name, and the Names of all thoſe ſhall be had in everlaſting remembrance, who have placed Their Majeſties upon

upon the Throne; whereby not only our Properties, but our Underſtandings are ſecured to us, and an healing Plaiſter is laid upon all our Maladies: For we muſt needs ſay, our Nation was in a very diſtempered Condition, before it came into the hands of this wiſe and great Prince *WILLIAM* the *Third*, whoſe Breaches in its Manners, as well as in its Laws, may be made up by his ſeaſonable Application of the moſt proper Remedies; as its Greatneſs and Glory will ever be maintained by His Wiſdom,

Wiſdom, Power, and Courage under the Influence of theſe Royal Virtues; *England*, methinks, begins to recover its juſt Temper apace, and the old *Britiſh Genius* revives; ſo that in time it may be reſtored to a perfect Health, as ſtrong Bodies will work out the Poyſon they take, by degrees.

That this Deliverance, which hath been ſo wonderfully wrought for us, may have the ſame effect upon our Country, which the Chriſtian Religion had at its firſt entrance into it, when it did ſo quickly

quickly turn the firſt *Inhabitants* of this *Iſland*, who were *uncivilized* and *barbarous*, into humble, affable, meek, charitable, modeſt, prudent, tender, and compaſſionate Creatures.

That the Practice of Virtue may be eſtabliſh'd in theſe Kingdoms, without which the firmeſt Government muſt diſſolve; becauſe a regard to that will ever have an Influence upon the Honour and Authority of thoſe, *who rule*, as well as upon the Happineſs and ſafety of thoſe who *obey*.

And

And that your Lordſhip may long enjoy the only Sweetneſs of Life, a retreat from Noiſe and Diſturbance, that nothing may break or interrupt your Thoughts in the ways of Virtue and Goodneſs, is the Prayer of

May it pleaſe your Lordſhip,

Your Lordſhip's moſt humble,

and moſt obedient Servant,

J. HARTCLIFFE.

THE PREFACE To the READER.

THE reaſon which moved the Author to publiſh theſe ſhort Characters of Moral Virtues, was a deſire he had to revive the Practice of them as much as he could, in a very degenerate Age: The World, we know, has ever had its Viciſſitudes and Periods of Virtue and Wickedneſs; and all Nations have advanced themſelves to their Power and Grandeur, by Sobriety, Wiſdom, and a tender regard of Religion. This very Remark hath filled us with hope, that upon this our late wonderful Revolution, the Engliſh *Nation may recover its ancient Virtues, that have been too long under the Oppreſſion of* Debauchery; *which hath been an Evil of ſo great Malignity, as to threaten ruin to the very Conſtitution of the Government: Therefore the Providence of God hath ſent us a Prince for our deliverer, whoſe Piety is ſet off with the whole Train of Moral Virtues; whoſe Temperance is ſo great and impregnable amidſt all thoſe Allurements, with which the Palaces of Kings are apt to meet even the moſt reſolved Minds, that at the ſame time he doth both teach and upbraid*

braid the Court; whose Fortitude is more resplendent in the Conquest of himself, than when he strewes the Field with the Armies of Rebels; whose Gentleness and Mercy is so remarkable, that if ever the Lion and the Lamb dwelt together, it is in the Breast of this Royal Person; *whose personal Virtues will in a little time render all vicious Courses unexcusable, and will shed a suitable Influence upon his Government, that not only the Honour and Plenty, but the Virtue and Goodness of the* English People *may spread it self even to the Envy of all Neighbour Nations.*

1. Irreligion the Cause of Ruine to a Nation.

But whenever men contemn the Laws of God, and are loose in all their Conversation, they will certainly decline into Softness and Effeminacy; on the other side, when they are virtuous and upright in their Actions, they are unmoveable like a House built upon a Rock; for this is the Circle of human Affairs: And when Atheism, or a neglect of Virtue hath been at the greatest height, as it was very lately, they have certainly brought on Changes and Dissolutions, because the Principles of Irreligion do unjoynt the Sinews of all Government.

If this be so, methinks all Mankind should be ready to weigh and examin all the Arguments for Virtue, should carefully enquire into the Grounds of the Christian Faith, and take an account of the Truth and Credibility of the Scriptures; when they have done this, I am confident, they will think themselves as effectually obliged in Prudence to the Duties of Virtue and Religion by the Possibility, *as by the Certainty of things; for whatever they pretend, it is not their Reason, but their Vice, that cavils at the*

Principles

Principles of Virtue, and they except against it, not because it contradicts their Understandings, but their Appetites.

Now to humor or indulge these Appetites in all their Transgressions of the Laws of Nature and Virtue, will appear very absurd and unreasonable, if we consider,

1st. *That all manner of Vice is so vain, as that it cannot be forced to contribute to any wise End at all; Shame is the only Fruit of it, and all its Pleasures pass away in a moment, leaving nothing but Sorrow and Repentance behind them. As for Example, Revenge is a busie and contriving Vice, thrusts it self into all the hardships of War, is lost in perpetual Storms, and abandons all Peace of mind to its own impatient humour; the only Mark it aims at, is mere and abstracted Evil; Mischief and Bitterness is the fruit of all its toil. The same thing may be said of Ambition, which is full of mighty Projects; stoops not to small and petty Enterprises, but spends its time wholly in the quest of Fame, and feeds upon Applause;* vulgar *Ignorance, 'tis true, hath made these great and glorious things; but take off the Vizard that Opinion hath put upon them, and what remains then but Vanity and Emptiness? Insomuch, that no wise Man would ever hazard the Ease of his Life in the Attempts of vain Glory; whereas there is no Glory like that of a generous and honest Mind; no Applause like that of a Man's Conscience for good and righteous Actions: But he, who quits the inward Joy and Content of his own Soul, for the great or the glorious things of this World, leaves a lasting Happiness to follow a Phantasm or a Dream: For all this, what* 2. Vice is a vain thing.

Difficulties

Difficulties do Men chooſe to undergo, only to be loaded with heavier Sorrows, to be amazed with greater Fears, to be wearied out with preventing or encountering more vexatious Diſaſters: In like manner all the Pains and Paſſions of the proud and covetous are ſpent upon things, that they can neither want when they have them not, nor enjoy when they have them; *for one Man commonly ſtrives to get as much as would ſuffice ten, and the trouble of holding the other nine parts, diſcompoſes the enjoyment of his own ſhare; for all any Man hath above the natural Capacities of a Man, above that* little *which ſupplies the Needs and Deſires of his Nature, miniſters no more to his ſatisfaction, than what he* has not; *becauſe Happineſs reſults not from a Man's poſſeſſing the Comforts of Life, but from his uſing them; therefore unleſs he could extend his Appetites with his Fortunes, he doth but encreaſe his Troubles with his Plenty; and he, who amaſſeth together more than the Needs of his Nature do require, doth but burden himſelf with ſuperfluous Cares for what he can never have: For ſuppoſe the Palat be entertained with all the Dainties of the moſt witty and artificial Luxury; yet can we taſte them but by the meaſures of a Man, and when we have ſatisfied thoſe ſlender Deſires, all that remains, becomes as taſtleſs to us* as Dirt *and* Gravel, *which is more at large demonſtrated in the Character of Temperance. So idle and ſo fruitleſs is all the Induſtry of Ambition and Covetouſneſs;* Ad ſupervacua ſudatur, *is the* Motto *of the buſineſs of human Life, and fooliſh Man is ſo unlucky, as to break his Sleeps, conſume his Spirits, rack his Brains, and employ his*

Skill

Skill ſo to no purpoſe, as to be after all his Sweat, not ſo happy, nor ſo eaſie as he was before; *for we ſhould conſider,*

2dly. *That Vice is an Impoſture and Deluſion; it abuſes Men with thoſe very Expectations which it directly oppoſeth; it flatters Men with the faireſt Promiſes of Delight, yet produceth nothing but Grief and Vexation; it defeats and undermines all its own Projects; and ever concludes in Repentance and Diſappointment: Like the Harlot in the* Proverbs, *it inveigles with the wanton Kiſſes of her Lips, and draws the raſh Youth after her, as a Fool to the Correction of the Stocks; her Bed is deck'd with the Covering of Tapeſtry, and her Houſe is perfumed; but all this while it is the Road to Hell, and leads to the Chambers of Death: So whoriſh and ſo impudent is the Face of Vice, the Temptations thereof dazzle the Minds of Men with falſe and counterfeit Gayeties; they entice with ſubtile and wily Glances, looſe Geſtures, ſmooth and amorous Addreſſes; and all this while it is but a painted Snake, which is no ſooner taken into the Boſom, but the fatal Sting appears; it ſtrikes and wounds with an everlaſting Venom; and beſides the deadly Gaſhes it makes in the Conſciences of Men, it infects all the preſent Joys of human Life; for there is no Vice upon which Nature hath not entailed its proper Curſe: Intemperance is naturally puniſhed with Diſeaſes; Raſhneſs with Miſchances; Injuſtice with the Violence of Enemies; Pride with Ruine; Cowardiſe with Oppreſſion; theſe and ſuch like are the Puniſhments conſequent to the breach of the Laws of Nature,*

3. Vice in an Impoſture.

and follow them, as their natural, not arbitary Effects: For all Wickedneſs is its own Penance; it ever contradicts what it ſeems to aim at; if its deſign be Mirth, then it torments with Sorrow and Anguiſh; if Pride and Ambition, then it kills with Affronts and Indignities; if Luſt and Wantonneſs, then it wounds with Shame and Repentance: Thus the chiefeſt good to the voluptuous Man is Pleaſure, and if this be obtained by a ſhort and healthleſs Life, by Crudities and Inflammations, then the Man is happy; ſo all Luxury feels its Gripings, and the Glutton more heartily loaths the Joys of his Sin, than he ever purſued them; his Bed or Couch is fain to give him ſome repoſe to the irkſomneſs of his Table; he dozes away his Life, and ſeems to live in a continual Lethargy; his Organs are ſo diluted with indigeſted matter, that they have not Senſe enough to perceive the briskneſs of their own Reliſhes; and if he eſcape the ſudden ſtroke of a Feaver, he turns his weak and ſickly Body into a Statue of Earth and Flegm; fills his Veins with flat and ſpiritleſs Humours; grows fat with Sloth and Dulneſs. In brief, he breaths ſhort Sighs often, ſleeps ſeldom, till he dyes as ſottiſhly, as he lived. And the like happens to the Drunkard, who cannot endure Solitude, becauſe then his Fancy is filled with unwelcome Meditations, either of Death, the Accounts of Conſcience, or the Concerns of Eternity; and therefore he thinks to waſh down all theſe melancholy Thoughts with Wine, or baniſh them with deep Draughts and loud Laughter; but his next Mornings Accompts are a ſleepleſs Night, Qualms and fainting

Swea,

Sweat, and a diſmal Confuſion all over his Senſes; altho Cuſtom may have ſo naturalized both Gluttony and Drunkenneſs to ſome Men, that they can follow them without the danger of Sickneſs; yet they quench the Heat and Vigour of their Spirits, and drown them with Rheums and Dropſies; they drench their Brains in unwholſom Clouds of Moiſture, and waſh away all the Principles of common Senſe and Reaſon. As much may be ſaid againſt the unclean and laſcivious, whoſe Luſt is boundleſs and wild, ſwells with phantaſtick Joys, and imaginary Extaſies of Pleaſure; but it always begins in Folly, *grows up* in Trouble, *and concludes* in Shame: *It fills a Man with reſtleſs Fears and Jealouſies; vexes him with Affronts, and deſtroys all the Peace of his Soul with mad and ungovernable Deſires; not to mention, how often theſe falſe Joys are imbittered with the Shame of Diſcovery; how oft they are allayed with the Conſumption of a Man's Eſtate; how oft he is puniſhed with noiſom Diſtempers, ſo that his Body ſeems to anticipate the uncleanneſs of the Grave, and to rot before it is buried. Now is not that Perſon forſaken of Senſe, who is driven upon all theſe Miſeries by the Charms of a ſhameful Vice? Who will conſent to be cozened into ſuch Delights as bring Stings and Scorpions along with them? Who can be fond of a brutiſh Appetite, that is much more properly, than Anger, a tranſient Fury and Madneſs?*

In this manner ſhould we run through the whole Catalogue of Iniquities; it were eaſie to ſhew, how every Vice is its own Enemy, a direct Contradiction to it ſelf: Which Aſſertion is as undeniable, as the Evidence of firſt Principles, and as certain, as

any demonſtration in Mathematicks, ſo that were not Mankind infinitely degenerate, it would be no leſs abſurd to chuſe Vice before Virtue, than ſeriouſly to believe a part to be greater than the whole: But all vicious Men act knowingly againſt the moſt undoubted Wiſdom and Experience of all Ages, and will be wicked, though they know they are the greateſt Fools *in the World for being ſo. For we ſhould conſider,*

(3.) Human Nature is made for great ends.

Thirdly, That Human Nature is framed for great and noble Ends; though at preſent it is in a State of Weakneſs, and is as much below its own Perfection, as Infancy is ſhort of Manhood, and what *it* is *is the* leaſt part of what it ſhall *be; indeed Man is firſt born into the World little higher than the Beaſts that periſh, and the Appetites that firſt diſcover themſelves, are thoſe of Senſe: But they are the Faculties of the Mind, that are the Inſtruments of his true and proper Happineſs; All the Affairs of this life are mean and childiſh things in compariſon to the largeneſs of his Capacities, and ſerve only to entertain his thoughts in his ſtate of Infancy, but are unable to render him happy, becauſe nothing can ſuit or ſatisfie them, but the pleaſures of God and Angels; for the Soul being a Divine Subſtance is gratified with nothing but thoſe Pleaſures, that are Divine and Heavenly. Now all vicious Men ſlide back from the height of their Stations, and ſink down into the loweſt Villanies, into the very Imperfection of the brutiſh Life; they unravel their very Natures, and run themſelves backward; their Deſigns are below their preſent Condition, and the Ends they ſeek after are leſs perfect than themſelves; they value the delights of a Beaſt before thoſe of a Divine Nature, and the uncleanneſs of Luxury before the Joys of Immortality; they chooſe* Nebuchadnezzar's *Fate, and leave Crowns to live a-*

mong

mong the Salvage Herds of the Wilderneſs; they exchange the Dignities of a Kingdom for the Pleaſures of a Fly, and forſake the Communion of ſpotleſs Angels to feed and wallow with Swine; they deſpiſe the Treaſures of Heaven for imaginary Enjoyments, and eſteem the Paſtimes of a Day beyond the Ages of Eternity: in a word, they forego the rewards of Virtue, the peaceable Reflections of a clear Conſcience for an Intereſt, that they muſt get with Labor, enjoy with Perplexity, and ſoon leave with Sorrow: All that they gain by their Vice, is ſcarce worth the having, though we do not conſider what the purchaſe coſt them, and they would have but a bad bargain, though it were not bought with the loſs of their Souls; but alas! they forfeit them to an intolerable Anguiſh for a ſhameful Luſt, and loſe that without which they muſt be for ever miſerable, for that, which will certainly make them ſo; *they damn themſelves for Trifles, and deliver up their Souls to unſpeakable Tortures for the mirth of a few Minutes.*

(4.) The folly of wicked Men.

Surely that Man muſt be very inconſiderate, who can fix his Choice ſo croſſy to the Nature of things, when there is ſuch an infinite Diſproportion between the Objects of it: What a Prodigy are the Affairs of this World to a conſidering Man? Who can reflect upon the common actions of Mankind without Amazement? Who could think it poſſible, but that we ſee it, that in a World Peopled with Immortal Spirits, almoſt all its Inhabitants ſhould be utter Strangers to thoſe good Qualities, that fit them for an everlaſting State; that they ſhould run away from all ſober Senſe, to take up with a few gatherings of Wit out of Plays and Romances; that they ſhould think themſelves oftentimes more witty than other Folks, becauſe they dare to be more wicked;

that they ſhould boaſt in a ſupercilious diſdain of a good Life, and take thoſe for ſoft and cowardly Fools, who are ſcared at the Notion of inviſible Powers: with what Plots and Intrigues do they diſquiet their Heads! into what Labyrinths do they caſt their Thoughts! only to ſecure a poor, ſhort, ſecular Intereſt; for whoſe ſake they are hurried into the moſt eager and paſſionate Proſecutions, into the moſt fretful Controverſies, and the moſt indefatigable Labors: But when they think on Religion, then all their Projects cool and languiſh; then their motions are ſluggiſh, or rather none at all; and if they do not utterly neglect them, they do as bad, ſcarce ever riſe above the cuſtomary Devotions of idle and intellectual Wiſhes: But where ſhall we find the Man, who is as ſincere in the matters of Virtue, as in thoſe of his Temporal Advantages; whoſe Thoughts are as earneſt upon governing his Converſation by God's Word, as upon Riches and Honors! very few are ſo mortified, and to be Men of another World; the moſt had rather doze away their days, ſenſeleſs of the End, for which they were made, till their Torments awaken them; but then 'tis but in vain to curſe, and too late to redreſs their Folly: They have been often enough warned of the black and gloomy iſſue of things; God's Providence hath uſed all the Arts of Love and Goodneſs to diſabuſe their Reaſon, that they may not wander after Shadows and Impoſtures; yet in ſpite of all the Endeavors of infinite Wiſdom and Bounty, they ſeem to be obſtinately bent on their own Ruin, and reſolve to periſh for love of the ſlighteſt and moſt tranſient Evils: for Men miſcarry, becauſe they will not conſider the ſad and aſtoniſhing Events of Things.

But

But let no Man deceive his own Soul, or imagine, he ſhall reap any benefit from Vice; let him rather with an impartial Reaſon, unbiaſſed either with Luſt or Paſſion, enquire into the Principles and Duties of Virtue; and he will eaſily diſcover them to be moſt reaſonable and pleaſant; to love and practiſe them, to be his higheſt Privilege, as well as Intereſt; to neglect or defame them, the moſt ſtupid Folly; which he cannot do, till he can prove a baſe and ſelfiſh Spirit to be more Noble and Generous, than an univerſal Love and Charity; Pride and Luxury to be more amiable, than Sweetneſs and Ingenuity; Revenge and Impatience more honorable, than Diſcretion and Civility; Exceſs and Debauchery more healthful, than Temperance and Sobriety; to be enſlaved to Luſts and Paſſions, more manly, than to live by the Rules of Reaſon and Prudence; Malice and Injuſtice to be more graceful and becoming a Gentile Behavior, than Kindneſs and Benignity; the Horrors of an amazed Spirit to be fuller of Pleaſure and Happineſs, than that peace and calmneſs of Mind, which ſprings from the Reflections of an exact Conſcience. (5.) The Principles of Religion, the beſt and moſt beneficial.

But if a Man cannot believe, that the Idea *of God is a Fancy, that the Immortality of the Soul is a Fable; then to what a degree of madneſs doth he Act, who will venture the Rage of an Almighty Vengeance, and the Ruin of an Immortal Soul for the ſake of a Vice: It is true, the Rich Man in the Goſpel did applaud himſelf in his foreſight, when he had filled his Store-Houſes with Proviſion for many years Eaſe and Voluptuouſneſs; But no ſooner was he ſurpriſed with the news of death, than all his hopes were daſht into pieces; with what Agony did the miſera-*

ble Man hear his fatal Doom! how did he quake and ſhiver, when he found himſelf in another World, beſet with Devils and damned Ghoſts! Such is the Wiſdom of every vicious Man; he congratulate himſelf for one of the ſhrewd and notable Perſons, ſwells with conceits of his own cunning and ſagacity, as if all beſides himſelf were weak People, *miſled by the* Cheats *and* Impoſtures *of* Prieſts.

But is this World all, that the Wretch can enjoy! hath he no proſpect of any Being hereafter, no expectations, but what ſhall be interr'd with his Carcaſe? If it be ſo, then indeed this might a little excuſe the fillineſs of his Choice: But when there is no other ſtate ſo certain and unalterable, as that of everlaſting Happineſs *and* Miſery, *which awaited good and evil doers; let him think what a Sot he is to forgo theſe hopes for the ſake of any Vice whatſoever: for nothing can be more evident, than that human Nature is ſo framed, as not to be kept within due bounds without Laws; which Laws muſt be inſignificant without the Sanction of Rewards and Puniſhments; but Temporal ones cannot be ſufficient for this End; therefore there is a neceſſity, that there ſhould be another future ſtate of Happineſs and Miſery; whereas if Temporal Proſperity did infallibly attend all good Actions, this would be a Diminution to Virtue it ſelf; Men would do good by a kind of natural Neceſſity, which abates juſt ſo much from the* Virtue *of their Actions, as it does from the* Liberty *of them.*

How then ſhall we reconcile theſe Contradictions, that Men ſhould believe, that there is a State hereafter of endleſs pain to puniſh the Wicked, and of endleſs felicity to reward the Righteous; yet be ſo care-

leſs

leſs to avoid the one, and to get the other; that they ſhould think, a conſtant and habitual Obedience to the Rules of Virtue indiſpenſibly neceſſary to Salvation, yet live in known and wilful Impieties, indulg themſelves in groſs and confeſſed Wickedneſs; ſome wallowing in Luſt and Wantonneſs, others in Wine and Drunkenneſs; ſome gratifying their Pride and Ambition, others their Malice and Envy; ſome ſacrificing to their Filth and Luxury, others to their Avarice and Covetouſneſs; ſome given to all kinds of Exceſs, others to all kinds of Religion.

(6.) The nature of true Repentance.

How can theſe Men look into their own minds without the deepeſt horror and deſpair! For Vice can never be blotted out but by a timely Repentance; ſuch a Repentance as will bring forth all the Fruits of Virtue: For he, who thinks to purifie himſelf from his Sin without acquitting it, is as wiſe as He, who laps about a gangrened Member without any purpoſe of healing it: But no Vice can be pardon'd, till it is mortified; He, who prays againſt it, but yet commits it, directly contradicts his own Petition; all he gains by it, is, that he is Self-condemned, and he may as poſſibly wiſh himſelf into life, while he cuts his own Throat, as pray his Soul into Heaven, whilſt his Manners are unreformed: And He, who goes on in Vice upon the hope of an After-Repentance, makes himſelf uncapable of God's Mercy, by turning his Grace into Wantonneſs; whereas from the Terms of Chriſt's Goſpel, a Man may as well expect to Repent, when he is dead, as when he is dying, and he may as ſoon move Divine Compaſſion by the gnaſhing *of his Teeth in the next World, as by his* laſt groans *in this; But the Goodneſs of God will not ſuffer it ſelf to*

be

be mocked; there is nothing more manifest in the Scripture, than the absolute necessity of a virtuous Life here, in order to an happy One hereafter.

It concerns us therefore to beware of all manner of Evil; and we ought to be the more cautious, because the Snares thereof are laid so craftily; for

(7.) Evil is deceitful.

1. *Evil doth often assume another name to cover its native Ugliness, though it doth always retain the same venomous and base Nature: because it would not be known by its own proper Title and Character, it doth impudently intrude and adopt it self into the Family of some Virtue, as if it did resemble them, and things, that are alike, do often cozen unwary Judges; as for instance; base Compliance with vitious and extravagant Company passeth for good Fellowship and Civil Conversation; wanton and scurrilous Language is looked upon as Wit, and true Breeding; when Men pinch and are covetous, this is called good Husbandry: Thus Vice presents it self in such colors, as may best please the diverse Humors of Men; sometimes it suggesteth to them Pleasure, sometimes Profit; these are its most catching, and therefore the most Fatal Temptations, these are the baits which cover the Hook, and they take with all Men, that are not of a steady and resolved Virtue.*

(8.) Evil the most slavish thing.

2. *Evil, by all its Arts would persuade us, that it is a Privilege, which we may challenge, and which we may do in the use of the Liberty, that God hath given us; but we are grossly imposed upon by these Insinuations; for it is not Power to be able to do that, which is not fit to be done; neither is it Liberty but Slavery, and that the most unsufferable, to have power to do Evil or to serve any Lust: yet this is that*

power

Power and Right, which many Men are bent to maintain; which Jezabel *adviſed* Ahab *to put in practice, when he was troubled for* Naboth's *Vineyard*; Doſt thou govern *Iſrael*, and knoweſt not how to have *Naboth*'s Vineyard? *Ariſe, eat Bread, and let thy Heart be merry; I will give thee the Vineyard of* Naboth, *and ſhe gave it him; but upon ſtrange Terms, by wilful Murder, Perjury, and Subordination; theſe are the methods of Vice in drawing Men into her Courſes; they are puff'd up with an Opinion of their own Ability and extraordinary freedom above other Creatures; as if it were power to do Miſchief, or true freedom* to chooſe Evil.

(9.) Evil takes another diſguiſe.

3. *Evil covers it ſelf under ſome probable Circumſtance, and finds an Excuſe for the worſt it can do; warrants it ſelf ſometimes by the difference of Time and Place; ſometimes by Meaſure and Degree; ſometimes by Mode and Manner; for as much as that may be done at one time, which may not be at another; ſo by meaſure and degree; although it be one of the moſt difficult things in the World to aſſign Mode and Meaſure; for Men will ſay, a thing may be done in another place, though not in this or in that manner: though it may not be done in this or in that faſhion, yet it may to ſuch a meaſure and degree; the Sluggard was ſtill for a little more Sleep, till Evil had got faſt hold, and would never let him go; ſo in many Caſes it is very hard to fix the utmoſt bounds of Good and Evil becauſe they part as Day and Night, which are divided by Twylight, ſo that there is a glimmering of Day between both, and it is a nice Point to know in theſe adjacent borders of Virtue and Vice, how far a Man may go, and further he may not.*

4. *Evil*

(10.) Evil pleads Neceſſity.

4. *Evil ſometimes pleads Neceſſity, that it is unavoidable, but we muſt comply with it; inſomuch that ſome have learned to argue for their Wickedneſs by charging it upon the* Phyſical *and* neceſſary Workings of their Natures, *which they cannot ſtop, and conſequently they cannot commit a Fault in ſuffering them to have their full ſwinge; But if we examine the Caſe, we ſhall find, that there is no neceſſity at all to do that which is Evil; though evil Affections and Luſts may proceed from ſomething that is* Natural; *yet they can never get a Dominion over us, but through our own* voluntary *conſent: However this weight of Neceſſity, preſſing Men to ſin, was* Herod's *Argument, wherewith he thought to juſtifie himſelf, when he acted contrary to the ſenſe of his own mind: But this we muſt walk by as a Rule, that Neceſſity may put us upon Inconveniences, but it muſt never put us upon Iniquity, or make us conſent to Sin; Though we live no longer here, we ſhall live in a better State; therefore we muſt not, to ſave our preſent Being deſtroy the cauſe of Life, which conſiſts in a good Temper of Mind, in a Regularity of our Actions and Practices.*

(11.) Evil pleads Cuſtom.

5. *One Sin ſeeks covert in another, until they are encreaſed to ſuch a Heap, as will preſs down the Sinner into Miſery and Ruin; one Evil flies often for Protection to a worſe, ſo that nothing can be in a more deplorable State than a wicked Man, whilſt that which he takes for his Refuge will certainly undo him: beſides Sin would perſuade us to continue it in the World, becauſe it hath been cuſtomary for Men to live ill; by this means the Devil doth ſo poſſeſs the vicious Perſon, as he cannot get rid of him, and when once he is habituated to an evil Courſe of Life, it is no eaſie matter to*

recover

recover himſelf; but the greateſt Cheat of all that Vice puts upon Men, is, when Attrition or a ſudden ſorrow for Sin paſſes for the whole product of Repentance; whereas that which is indeed true Repentance, muſt be accompanied with the forſaking all manner of Vice, and with the bringing forth a thorow Reformation and Amendment of our Lives; and that I may the better ſatisfie you in this Point, you may conſider, that the firſt motions of Repentance have been, where nothing that is good hath followed upon it; for Judas *was ſorry for betraying our Lord; but what was the Conſequence? nothing but Deſpair and Self-Murder: And of ſome* we *read* in *St.* Peter, who had eſcaped the polluti-ons of the world, and were again enſnared, whoſe latter end was worſe than their beginning; *we muſt therefore follow the firſt good motions of a new Life, until we bring them into a ſettled State: otherwiſe theſe Motions may prove an Aggravation of our Sin, and encreaſe our Condemnation.*

In all theſe Inſtances before-mentioned, Vice is deceitful; now it would trouble us leſs to be overborn and forced, than thus to be deluded and wheedled into Deſtruction; we may not be able to oppoſe Force; *but we cannot be cozen'd, if we be but as* wiſe *and* cautious *as we ſhould or ought to be; that one Man is ſtronger, or richer than another, it may not be in our power to help; but if a Man be not as prudent or vertuous as another, it may be much his own fault, for this depends upon his own care, and the improvement of thoſe Faculties, which God hath given him; and I am of Opinion, that we ſhould be wiſe enough for one another, if we were but* equally honeſt; *and if Men would conſider the doleful iſſues of Impiety, it would be eaſi-*

er to

er to perſuade a ſober Man to ſtab himſelf for a Bag of Cherry Stones, as to hazard his future Happineſs for a preſent Advantage, Intereſt, or Pleaſure.

(12.) If Men would conſider, they would avoid Evil.

Therefore I would aſk this of Mankind, that they would act ſuitably to the fixed and unavoidable Fate of things, and remember that they are a ſort of Beings, who muſt hereafter live always in unconceivable Bliſs or Woe: But if this Meditation will not Influence their Thoughts, it will be in vain to preſs them with any more Arguments, but they muſt be left to the diſmal and pitileſs deſerts of their want of Senſe and Conſideration. Nay, if they would but think, what kind of Creatures God hath made them, they muſt look upon Vice as the greateſt Corruption and Diſhonor to their Natures; for they are placed in a middle State between Angels *and* Brutes; *they are made up of contrary Principles,* Matter *and* Spirit, *are endued with contrary Faculties,* animal *and* rational; *this is their Condition, and by this means they are in a Capacity to exerciſe the* Virtues *peculiar to their compounded Natures; for the Life of Man in this World is nothing elſe but an* Olympick *Exerciſe; therefore it is repreſented in the Scripture as a Race, a Warfare, a laboring in the Vineyard; the great Principles and Graces of the Chriſtian Life can be exerciſed only, while we have bodily Appetites and Paſſions to govern, that ſolicite and tempt us to ſenſual Exceſſes: Herein therefore conſiſts the true Gallantry of Spirit, when it controuls all thoſe lower Powers that ought to obey Reaſon, when it defends the Authority thereof againſt all the rebellious Attempts of Paſſion and Concupiſcence. For unleſs our Souls had been lodged in Bodies full of unreaſonable Inclinations, they would not have*

have been capable of exercising many Choice Virtues, *such as Temperance, Sobriety, Chastity, Patience, Meekness, and all the rest, that consist in the Empire of Reason over Appetite: For Virtues of this sort are never attributed to God, because He being of a Nature purely Spiritual, hath no unruly Appetites to govern: But because the Nature of Virtue is placed in the Minds, ruling the Affections, Providence hath furnished it with Instruments for that purpose; for the Soul having its principal Residence, where the Nerves have their Original, that convey all Motions backward and forward, it is able by an immediate Influence to command all the* animal Motions of *the* Body: *For if the Superior Part should not be strong enough to govern the Inferior, it would destroy the very Being and Existence of* Good *and* Evil, *and render Mankind utterly uncapable of Goodness and Morality: Although sensual Inclinations, false Principles, vicious Examples, and wicked Customs are the inducements and occasions of much Vice; yet the Superior Powers of the Mind are able to give check and control to our brutish Lusts and Passions; so that it is much in our own Power to attain to Virtue and Happiness, were it not for a wilful* inconsiderateness, *the spring and head of that Torrent of Wickedness, that has always overflown the greatest part of the World: for if every Man be endued with rational Faculties; if he can reflect upon the Essential Differences of Good and Evil, together with their natural products; if he can observe what things tend to his damage, and what minister to his advantage; and if it be most apparent, that vertuous Practices are infinitely more conducive to the Interest and Happiness of Man, than Vice and Luxury; then no other Reason can be given why Men are so unanimously vicious, but only be-*

cause

cauſe they are wilfully or careleſly unreaſonable, eſpecially when the Rules and Directions of Religion are all ſober and practicable; when it doth not flatter Men with Romantick degrees of Happineſs upon fond and fantaſtick Principles, but complies with the Conditions of Human Life; for we have no high-ſtrain'd Paradoxes, ſuch as the Stoicks *had againſt the Convictions of Senſe and Experience; but we are allowed to eſteem of every thing, as* we find *and* feel it; *above all we are charged to purge our Minds of froward Humors, and to ſweeten them with mild Principles; to moderate and command our Paſſions, and in all Circumſtances to govern our ſelves by the Laws of Wiſdom and Moderation: with which when the Mind is furniſhed; it is able to extract ſomething beneficial to its own Intereſts from the moſt malicious Accidents, and may be Serene in the midſt of Storms, Contented in the midſt of Diſappointments: But ſuppoſe there were nothing in Virtue, but Hardſhips and Difficulties, a perpetual Force and Violence to Nature, a conſtant War with the World and the Fleſh; cannot we endure all this for an endleſs Reward? for we muſt have a very mean Opinion of Heaven, if we do not think it worth the Obedience and Service of a few years, how difficult ſoever that were: for the Expectation of a future Happineſs hath been that Principle, from whence that Confidence and Courage hath ariſen, whereby vertuous Perſons have been ſupported in their Sufferings for that which is good.*

But beſides the future Reward that doth await them, the Lovers of Virtue are the happieſt Men upon Earth for thoſe two Reaſons;

Firſt, Becauſe their Virtue tends to the Preſervation and Continuance of the World.

Secondly,

Secondly, To the bettering of the Condition and Manners of Mankind.

For the World would crack about our Ears, and ſink under the weight of its own Wickedneſs, did not virtuous Men put in their Shoulders to uphold the Fabrick: Cardan *indeed is very inquiſitive how Human Societies were kept up, and affirms the Cauſe, why they did not diſband and run into Confuſion, to be the mutual Vices and Wickedneſſes of Men; one Ambitious Man oppoſing another, and checking him in his Deſigns; one Knave diſcovering another; one Cruel Man keeping another in awe; And the Politicians think, that the World is ſuſtained by their little Arts and Devices in Government; But theſe are but like* Anticks *in a Building, that ſeem to crouch and bend under the weight of it, as if they bore it up, when they do nothing leſs, but have as much need of being prop'd up themſelves, as any other part of the Structure: 'Tis not the* Wiſe, *the* Noble, *and the* Strong, *that are ſufficient Pillars to bear up the World; but the weak things, the holy, righteous, and good Man, upon whom the whole ſtreſs and weight of it lies: For wicked Men, be they never ſo high and great, are but rotten Supporters; they are ſo far from contributing to its Preſervation, that they are continually ſoliciting God's Judgments, and drawing down his Vengeance upon the Earth: Thus the corrupt Converſation of the Men of* Sodom *was the Vapor that did aſcend to Heaven, and gather into a Cloud of Wrath, which did for a long time hang over thoſe Cities; And Righteous* Lot *only hinder'd its being poured out upon them, and when he was removed, they fell into Deſolation as in a Moment.* (13.) The world is kept up by Virtuous Men.

So the Places where Virtuous Men dwell, are enriched with many Bleſſings for their ſakes, and the Perſons,

ſons, with whom they converſe, are happy as it were by Concomitancy; *they enjoy much Proſperity, and are freed from many Evils, by reaſon of their Neighborhood to good Men*; for the Pſalmiſt hath told us, that God bleſſeth the habitation of the righteous, nor ſhall any plague come nigh his dwelling: *Thus the Lord was with* Jacob *and proſpered* Laban *for his ſake*; *and He was with* Joſeph, *and bleſſed the* Ægyptian's *Houſe for his. For the World muſt needs be the better for ſuch, as are ever ready to relieve thoſe that are in Want*; *to feed an Enemy, if he be hungry*; *to give Drink to the Thirſty*; *to pity the Miſerable*, *to bind up the Wounds of the Lame*, *and to cloath the Naked*; *to do any Man a Kindneſs and reconcile all Differences*. *And if a Virtuous Man, be in a more publick Capacity, then the Effects of his Goodneſs will be more large and diffuſive: He will be of a more publick benefit and advantage: And we muſt take notice, that nothing doth conduce more to the Happineſs of the World, than the bettering Mens manners*; *now this Virtuous Men do theſe two ways:*

1. *By their Counſel.* 2. *By their Example.*

(14) The condition of Mankind is made better by the Counſels of good Men.

Their Lips preſerve the ſoundeſt Knowledg, and they are ever inſtructing others in the ways, they take themſelves; *hence they are called the Lights of the Earth, that enlighten all about them*; *for they are ever diſtilling wiſe Advices*; *which, however they may at firſt ſeem grievous, yet they inſinuate by degrees, and get poſſeſſion of the Underſtanding*; *they are frequently awakening thoſe, with whom they diſcourſe, to the conſideration of God's Goodneſs, the Eternity of their own Souls*; *putting them upon the beſt improvement of their time, exciting them to the Love of God and of their Neigh-*

Neighbour, taking all wise occasions to reprove the Wickedness of Men, and to restrain their exorbitant Courses: So their Example is of great force to amend their Brethren, because it is a greater encouragement to go before a Man, and shew him the Path of Virtue, than only to give him direction; 'tis true, Religion and Virtue are more lovely in the notion and definition of them, than they are in the Person; in the definition they are pure, and have nothing of Allay; but in the Person they are attended with mixture and imperfection; yet Virtue is more lively in the Person; and they say, that a Man, who shoots, can better take his aim at a living than a dead Mark, because there is something in Life, that commands a more steddy attention, and makes us look more intently upon it; tho Religion and Virtue may be represented with more Advantage in a Discourse; and a Man may be better convinced that way of their Excellency; yet Example satisfies one of the practicableness of the thing: For Holiness would appear an impossible thing, and not to be attained, were it not, that we have it made familiar to us, and easie for our imitation in the Lives of virtuous Men; who by their Counsel and Instruction, point out the way of Virtue to us; but by their Example, they take us by the hand, and lead us in that way: And it is incredible, of what Advantage a few great Examples may be to reform the World; chiefly if their places have given them any advantage of ground, and do make them subject to the notice of others; thus the Example of Socrates *had an influence upon* Athens, *and the severe Life of* Cato *upon the People of* Rome. *'Tis true indeed, the Nature of Man leaneth to evil, and is insensibly drawn away by bad*

Examples; yet it is not so degenerate, but it may receive some Impressions of Virtue, from the Lives, Company, and Conversation of good Men, who in respect of Counsel and Instruction, are the Lights of the World; so in respect of their Example, they are the Salt of the Earth; for a Man of severe Innocency and Justice, is as so much Salt cast into the World to preserve the Manners of Men from Putrefaction; a Man of a gentle and conversable Temper, of a peaceable and reconciling Mind, is like so much Balm to heal the Wounds and Exasperations of Mens Spirits; a Man of a strict Piety and lively Devotion, of an ardent Zeal and active Industry for Goodness, is as so much Fire or Life sent down from Heaven, to awaken the drowsie Worlds, and rowze the endeavours of others after the best things; a Man of eminent Holiness doth discourage the Ungodliness of Men; and one of a wise and grave Behaviour doth restrain their Vanity and Folly. Thus the Preservation and the Bettering of the World, must be ascribed to virtuous Persons, as an Effect, and as a Reward of their Goodness; for they are ever persuading Men to be better, and they keep 'em from growing worse; and God doth not only reward them in their Persons, but all, who are near or related to them, shall thrive the better for their sakes; thus the eminent Faith of Abraham, *and the Sincerity of* David, *had an influence upon the Happiness of* Israel *for many Generations.*

Therefore if we would avoid being imposed upon, and would take just Measures of our selves, we are to judg of our Condition, as the Psalmist directs, Psal. 18. 21. *according as we have* kept the ways of the Lord, and have not wickedly departed from God:

God: *For the best proof the Schools afford, is a Demonstration by the Effect; as for instance, if you are to prove the Being of a God, the best way to do it, is from what he hath made; so the best Method for a Man to prove himself to be virtuous, is from what he does. Thus our Saviour hath told us,* a good tree bringeth forth good fruit, and an evil one evil fruit: *Now it is a Matter of great consequence to know, whether we be in a state of Salvation or not; we are apt to puzzle our selves with obscure Marks of Grace and doubtful Signs of our good State; but there is one plain and sensible Mark, which will silence all Jealousies, and that is the keeping of God's Commandments; this we may come at without searching into the Records of Heaven, or diving into the secret Counsels of God. Perhaps there is nothing in Religion more to be wondered at, than to see so many Christians in continual Anxieties about their State, and so few, that can arrive to any competent degree of assurance in this matter: Whereas the Scripture every where nakedly declares to Men their Duty, and has plainly laid down the Precepts of a holy Life, and all along supposes, that by Obedience to these, Men may certainly know whether they love God or not; that by giving all* diligence to abound *in Grace and the* Virtues *of a holy Life, they* may make their Calling and Election sure.

(15.) There are two different States of Men.

For there are two different States of Men; one is, wherein Sin prevails; in the other Religion and Goodness take place; these two differ in degrees, as wide as Heaven and Hell; which Places we must not believe to be all hereafter; for both the one and the other are in some measure begun here upon Earth.

They who are made like to God in the frame and temper of their Minds; who live according to the everlasting and unchangeable Rules of Goodness, Righteousness, and Truth, may be properly enough said to have made their entrance already into Heaven. But they who confound the difference of good and evil; who care not to approve themselves to God, by leading good and holy Lives, do partake of the diabolical Nature, and are already entred into the state of Hell: Wherefore it behoves us to keep the ways of the Lord *with Diligence and Care, which the Judgment of right and wrong, true and false, good and evil, doth require: For this is the* very Grammar of Religion, *and being built upon these first Principles, it grows higher by degrees, according to every ones Capacity and Ability in moderating his Faculties for the several purposes of it. Now the first thing in Religion, is to refine a Man's Temper; and the second is, to govern his Practice; for if it do not mend Mens Spirits and regulate their Lives, it is much inferiour to any Principle in Nature, which is sufficient to, and doth attain its effect. But the Grace of God superadded to the reason of our Minds, is of strength sufficient to subdue all the Temptations to evil; if the Creation below us, by natural instinct, doth those things that are regular, shall not these higher Principles do the like, always preserve us from known evil, and determine us to that which is* morally good? *This is the course of things in Nature; every Habit begun is greatly weakened by a forbearance of Acts; for every thing must be kept up in the way, it was produced; a Disposition is first wrought by some Acts, and if Act be not continued upon Act, the Disposition will fail; for things*

that

that are not brought to a State of Perfection, will go back again, if they be not maintained in the ſame way that they were produced: Wherefore it will be worth the while to enquire what our moſt holy Religion aims at, and after what manner it doth affect the Perſon in whom it is lodged.

Now Religion makes us live up to our higheſt Faculties, and teaches us to practiſe ſuch Virtues as become rational Beings, who bear the Image of the Immortal God, and are exalted above the Inferior Creation; prompts us to ſcorn all Actions that are baſe, unhanſom, or unworthy our State and Relation in which we ſtand to our Creator, forbids us to do any thing that will make us like Beaſts, or that would ſink us into a lower order by Senſuality and Carnal-mindedneſs, or that would transform us into the likeneſs of Devils, by Pride, Preſumption, and Self-conceit; makes us God-like in Wiſdom, Righteouſneſs, Goodneſs, Charity, Compaſſion; in forgiving Injuries, pardoning Enemies, and in doing hurt to none, but good to all, as we have power and opportunity; adviſes us to follow the conduct of true and ſincere Reaſon, tames the Extravagancy of our Paſſions, and regulates the Exorbitances of the Will, permits us the pleaſures of our Bodies ſo far as they may give no diſturbance to the Mind, produces a ſweet and gracious Temper of Soul, calm in it ſelf and loving to Mankind; begets in us freedom of Spirit, and baniſhes groundleſs Fears, fooliſh Imaginations, and daſtardly Thoughts; teaches us to have right Conceptions of God, that he doth tranſact all things with Mankind, as a loving Father with his Children; creates in us a rational Satisfaction, and the joy of a good Conſcience, advances the Soul to its juſt Sovereignty over inferior Appetites, which would diſable it for all good and vertuous Acts, and render us weak, fooliſh, and unfit for any thing that is generous or noble; ſtrengthens our Reaſon a-

gainſt the Onſets of the World, Fleſh and Devil, which is effected chiefly by ſtifling all manner of Intemperance; for it is this that fruſtrates the Work of Religion, either by ſtupifying or imaging the Spirits, or by putting them into irregular Motions.

16. An Exhortation to the Practice of Religion.

Now therefore let us conſider, whether or no this Religion doth govern our Lives; which we muſt learn, not by our acquaintance with Syſtems and Models of Divinity, but by our keeping its Commandments: For unleſs Chriſt be inwardly formed *in our Hearts, the Notions of Religion can ſave us no more, than Arts and Sciences, whilſt they lye only in Books and Papers without us, can make us learned: For Chriſt Jeſus did not undergo a reproachful Life and Death, merely to bring in a* Notion *into the World, without the changing, mending, and reforming it; ſo that Men might ſtill be as wicked, as they were before, and as much under the Power of the Prince of Darkneſs. Indeed Chriſt came to expiate and attone for our Sins; but the end of this was, that we might* forſake all Ungodlineſs and worldly Luſts.

'Tis true, there be ſome that diſhearten us in this ſpiritual Warfare, and bring an ill Report upon that Land, *which we are to conquer, telling of nothing but ſtrange* Giants, *the Sons of* Anak, *that we ſhall never be able to ſubdue; others would ſuggeſt, that it is enough for us, if we be but once in a* ſtate of Grace, *we need not take ſo great pains to travel any farther, or that* Chriſt *hath done all for us already* without *us, and nothing need more to be done* within *us.*

Hearken not to them (I beſeech you) but hear what Caleb *and* Joſhua *ſay;* Let us go up at once and poſſeſs it; for we are able to overcome them, *the*

bigeſt

hugeſt Armies of Luſts, not by our own Strength, but by the Power of the Lord of Hoſts; *hear alſo the wholſom Words of S.* Peter; Give all diligence to add to your Faith Virtue, and to Virtue Knowledg, to Knowledg Temperance, and to Temperance Patience, to Patience Godlineſs, and to Godlineſs brotherly Kindneſs, and to brotherly Kindneſs Charity; *for* if theſe things be in you, and abound, they make you, that ye ſhall neither be barren nor unfruitful in the knowledg of our Lord JeſusChriſt.

For Holineſs hath ſomething of God in it, and therefore it muſt needs be a victorious and triumphant thing. And as the Devils are always active to encourage Evil; *ſo the heavenly Hoſt of bleſſed Angels are as buſie in promoting that which* is good; *for we cannot imagin, but that the* Kingdom *of* Light *ſhould be as true to its own Intereſt, and as vigilant for the enlarging it ſelf as the* Kingdom of Darkneſs. *But then by Holineſs is not meant a mere Performance of the outward Duties of Religion, but an inward Soul and Principle of divine Life, that enliveneth the dead Careaſt of all our outward Devotions: For this is the vulgar Error of Mankind; they have dreadful Apprehenſions of Fire and Brimſtone, whilſt they feed in their Hearts a true and living Fire, that is, the Hell of Luſts, which miſerably ſcorches their Souls, and they are not concerned at it; they do not perceive how Hell ſteals upon them, whilſt they live here. And as for Heaven, they gaze abroad for it, as for ſome great and high Preferment that muſt come from* without, *and never look for the beginnings of it to ariſe* within, *in their own Minds: Whereas nothing* without *us can make us either happy or miſerable; nothing can either defile or hurt us, but* what goeth out from us.

I shall now shut up all with these two Considerations, to perswade you farther to the Love of Virtue.

From the desire we all have after Truth, *which is not held up by wrangling Disputes, and syllogistical Reasonings, but by the Purity of our Hearts and Lives; neither would it fail of overcoming the World, did not the Sensuality of our Dispositions, and the Darkness of our false Hearts stop its passage.*

And from the Desires we have of a true Reformation, which must be begun in our own Hearts and Lives; for all outward Forms and Models *thereof are of little worth without the* inward Amendment *of our own Souls: For the baser Metals are not changed by their being cast into a good Mold, or by being made up in an elegant Figure; neither will adulterate Silver pass, when the Touch-stone tryes it; neither can we be* reformed, *before the Corruptions of our Hearts are purged away: And when this once comes to pass, then shall* Christ be set upon his Throne, *then the Glory of the* Lord shall overflow the Land, *then we shall be a People* acceptable *to him, and as* Mount Sion, *which he dearly loved, then by Reflection we shall see our selves as in a Glass, and our Faults being discovered, we shall readily endeavour to amend them; for it is not in this case, as in bodily Distempers, when the Body is necessitated by connexion of Causes to suffer the Malady upon it; but the Soul is in its own power; the first step therefore to a Cure, is for a Man to convince himself by his own Reason, that he hath done evil, and the desire to have this Disease removed naturally follows thereupon: For it is to no purpose to complain of bad Times, or to expect better days, so long as Mankind are so averse from cleansing their own Hearts: Whereas if the Motions and Inclinations of the Soul within were once set right, all things*

Every man is obliged to reform himself.

things without will go true, because they are all moved by those hidden Springs; and if every Man would study to do his own business in the ways of a virtuous and good Life, all Commotions in the Earth and all Differences would presently cease. And Solomon *makes this conclusion from all those wise Reflections he made upon things under the Sun,* Fear God and keep his Commandments; *for this is a Man's whole business, and his whole Excellency: So that there is nothing in Religion that I have wondered at more, than to see many Christians in continual Anxieties about their State, complaining much of their want of assurance in this matter, when it may be brought to a speedy and plain issue, by examining our selves, how we have kept God's Commandments, the moral Precepts of an holy Life; this one Mark of our Sincerity in Religion well attended to, would silence all those Suspicions, that many Persons are apt to entertain concerning their Condition: If it were worth our while to enquire into the reason of these Doubts and Fears, they may be truly resolved into a dark and melancholy Humor, or into false Conceptions of God, and his Affection towards Men, or into the Breaches and inequality of our Obedience to his Laws. Now the melancholy temper must be left to* Physick and Time; *for the Scripture prescribes nothing at all in this Case, any more than it does for a* Frenzy *or* Feaver; *but that is a very false and dangerous Principle, which some have entertained concerning God, as if he did not really desire the Happiness of Man, but watched all Advantages to surprize him into Destruction; as if his goodness was not a setled and constant Disposition of his Nature, but took him* at certain Fits, *as it does the Sons of Men; as if we could have no sure Rule to know, when we might hope for his Favor; as if the Majesty of Heaven*

The best way to know what our Condition is, must be from keeping God's Commandments.

Heaven were merely arbitrary in dispensing of things as he pleases, without considering any Qualification in his Creatures: Whereas he, who will not believe there is so much goodness in God, as that he did not make us for our own Ruin, can never have any quiet in his Mind, because nothing but the goodness of God can be a reasonable ground of Hope or Security to him. The next Mischief to this doth arise from false Notions concerning Religion, as if it did wholly consist in the performance of external Duties; now we must not take the Measures of our Religion by the ebbings and flowings of our Spirits, that depend upon our natural Temper, but by a firm Resolution of Soul to keep God's Commandments, by the conformity of our Wills to his, and by the constancy of our Obedience to his Laws: Another Mischief proceeds from the frequent Interruptions and great Breaches of a holy Life; and this doth much disquiet the Spirits of Men, so that usually they betake themselves to false Principles for relief: Whereas that Person, who rightly understands the Nature of God, who hath worthy apprehensions about his Goodness to Mankind, hath true Notions about Religion, and is free from any melancholy Distemper; who doth for the most part continue in an even course of Obedience, allowing for human Frailties, that befal the best of Men; he enjoys a lasting Peace and Serenity of Mind, without any considerable Change, but such as he can give an account of from his sensible Failings and Variations. For I do not believe, that Comfort and Peace of Conscience are such arbitrary things, as that God gives them to whom and when he pleases, *without any regard of our Carriage towards him, but God hath so ordered Matters, that Peace and Comfort shall be the natural result of our Duty, and the discharge of a good Conscience towards God and towards man.*

Many Mischiefs arise from false Notions of God and Religion.

Another Mischief proceeds from the frequent Interruptions of a holy Life.

The

The truth is, we do not live according to those Rules of Righteousness, that are laid down in his Gospel for the Government of our Lives, and so we are afraid to try our selves by this Evidence of our Love to God, our Obedience to his Commands; *but are glad to hearken to any other obscure signs, which we cannot be certain of, neither will they bring the business to any issue; like a Man that hath outrun himself in his Estate, he is unwilling to look* into his Books, *but had rather feed himself with some uncertain signs of his good Condition, than examin his accounts, that he may truly know what it is.*

If we would not deceive our own Souls, we must bring our selves to this touchstone, Obedience to all the Laws of God, *by this means we shall take a certain course to understand,* what state we are in; *which Laws we are sufficiently enabled to keep by that Grace and Assistance that God offers, and is never denied to those that are not wanting to themselves: And Man being the only Creature in this visible World, that is formed with a Capacity of Worshiping and Enjoying his Maker, we have no just pretence to Reason, unless our Reason be determined to actions of Religion: For as* Men, *we are endowed with such a Faculty, as is capable of apprehending a Deity, and of expecting a future State after this Life; whence it follows, that our proper Happiness must consist in the perfecting of this Faculty; which nothing else but Religion can so much as pretend to: it is true indeed,* Health, Riches, Reputation, Safety, *are necessary to render our Condition pleasant and comfortable in this World: Now herein appears the advantage of Religion, that it is not only the* Moral *but the* Natural *Cause of all these things, because it doth not only entitle us to an Eternal Reward from a Just and Wise Providence, but by a* Physical Efficacy *it procures for us each*

The best way to know what our Condition is, must be from keeping God's Commandments.

each of those things, wherein our Temporal Happiness doth consist: Insomuch that if we could suppose our selves in a capacity of capitulating with God concerning the Terms, upon which we would submit to his Government, and were we to chuse the Laws we would be bound to observe, it were not possible for us to make any Proposals, which upon all accounts should be more for our Interest, than those very Conditions to which we are obliged by the Rules of Virtue and Religion: For were these and the fear of a God wholly extinguished, there would follow such wild Extravagancies amongst Men, as would not leave so much as the shadow or face of common honesty and order in the World; there being no kind of Vice, which Men would not abandon themselves unto, considering how impetuous their natural Appetites are, and the power of Temptations.

Without Religion all things would be in disorder.

Rituals indeed, and external Observations of Religion are readily complied with, and Men without much difficulty are brought to them, because they may be consistent with their Lusts; but they are impatient of practical Duties, because they fetter their Inclinations to Sin; this is a Yoke that galls their Necks; a burden too heavy for them to bear.

Hence it hath been taken notice of, that there is no Religion in the World, either Jewish, Turkish, *or* Pagan, *so carelesly observed by its Proselytes, as* ours *is, whereof this must be assigned the Cause; their Institutions are for the most part Schemes of* Ceremony *and* Bodily Exercises; *whereas universal Goodness and Virtue are the indispensible Injunctions of* Christianity: *Now to abstain from all appearance of Evil, and to keep our selves unspotted from the World, goes against the Grain, lays* the Axe to the root of the Tree, *and* flays *the* Æthiopian, while he is alive: *And* Diogenes Laertius *gives this Reason, why the*

the Epicureans *kept closer to their Rule than the* Stoicks *did, because the first enjoined only what* Men had a mind to be, *but the later*, what they ought to be.

And what Christians ought to be, our Religion teaches, let us therefore be serious in the practice of it, for this reason among many others, because when a few days are past, we must all of us go to the place, whence we shall not return; *and when we come to dye, nothing then will be of advantage to us, but the* Testimony of our Consciences, *that* in simplicity *and* Godly sincerity, we have had our Conversation in this World; *upon which we may confidently expect, that there is laid up for us* a Crown of Righteousness, *which the Lord the Righteous Judge will give unto us at the day of his appearance, when* He shall come to bring every work *to* judgment, *with every secret thing*, whether it be good, or whether it be evil.

Why we ought to be serious in the profession of Religion.

CON-

ERRATA.

PAge 304. line 28. read *δεκτήμη*. p. 374. l. 14 r. *maintain'd*. p. 376. l. 4. r. *prompts*. p. 377. l. 1. r. *we are*. p. 385. l. 19. r. *relieve*. p. 403. l. 16. r. *doth not*. p. 410. l. 22 r. *this is*.

CONTENTS.

Of the Nature of Ethicks, pag. 1.
Of Fortitude, 47.
Of Temperance, 64.
Of Liberality, 82.
Of Magnificence, 103.
Of Magnanimity, 115.
Of Meekneſs or Gentleneſs of Spirit, 135.
Of the Three converſible Virtues, and Firſt of Comity or Affability, 156.
Of Veracity, 167.
Of Urbanity, 183.
Of Modeſty, 193.
Of Taciturnity, or the Government of Speech, 202.
Of Juſtice, 220.
Of Intellectual Virtues, 245.
Of Art, 247.
Of Prudence, 263.
Of Underſtanding, Science, and Wiſdom, 287.
An Enquiry into the Cauſes of the Decay of Moral Virtues, 313.
The Concluſion drawn from all the Premiſſes 352.

Of the NATURE of ETHICKS.

THIS is the *peculiar* End and Uſefulneſs of the *Chriſtian Religion*, to eſtabliſh *real* Virtue in the World: And in the Primitive Ages of Chriſtianity, the Virtues of *Charity*, *Meekneſs*, *Patience*, and *Humility*, were eſteemed the diſtinguiſhing Graces of the *Goſpel*; in that time the *plain*, the *humble*, and the *downright* Chriſtian was never diſpiſed as a mere *Moraliſt*. The firſt Preachers taught Men to purchaſe the Hopes of Salvation by *living up* to the *ſevereſt* and moſt *exalted* Doctrines of their Faith; then to be *reformed*, was without any more ado to be *regenerate*.

THE Doctrine therefore of *Ethicks* contains the principal Part or End of *Human Life*; which tho it is not to be had under the Sun, where nothing either good or bad hath any long *Duration*; yet *ſomething* we muſt aim at and lay hold on, in the *due culture* whereof we may place our greateſt *Eaſe* and *Happineſs*. This thing, whatever *An enquiry after the End of human Actions.*

it is, must necessarily include these three *Conditions.*

First, IT must be *agreeable* and *proper* to *Humane Nature*; for that we seek for, must be most *excellent*; and what Excellency can be in that, whereof *sensless* and *brute* Creatures do partake equally with our selves?

Secondly, IT must give us *full Content*; for so long as we desire somewhat more, it is not possible, that the Heart should rest satisfied.

Thirdly, IT must be within *our power* to get it, if we please; for what satisfaction or happiness can be in that from which we may be *hindered*, either in the *attaining* or *continuing* it?

Moral Virtue hath all the Properties of Happiness.

HE, who in his search for *Happiness* can find any thing wherein these Properties *meet*, should so highly value that Treasure, as to sell all to purchase the Field where it is. In the mean time, till something better be brought to light, we will be contented to take *Moral Virtue* into our consideration, and see whether these *three Properties* are to be found in her. But before we do this, it is fit we should consider some great Mistakes of the *old Philosophers* about this matter; one was, That they would have their Chiefest Good in *this Life*; another was,

was, They would have it ſo in their *own power*, and within *themſelves*, that neither God nor man ſhould be able to hinder them of it. Herein lay the fundamental Difference between the Morality of the *Academicks* and *Stoicks*. The courſe the *Platoniſts* took, was to *purge* their Minds of *froward Humors*, to moderate their *Paſſions*, to furniſh themſelves with *Prudence*, and then whatever happen'd, to govern themſelves by the Laws of *Wiſdom* and *Moderation*; becauſe when the Mind is endued with theſe Virtues, it is able to extract ſomething *beneficial* to its own Intereſts, from the moſt *malicious Accidents*. The *Stoicks* fooliſhly thought, that we ſhould be diſquieted with perpetual *Fears*, if our Happineſs were not wholly lodged within our *own Breaſts*: Whereas a wiſe and good Man, that conſiders the *uncertainty* of things, will neither be ſo ſtupid, as to be *ſurpriz'd* with any Diſaſter, nor ſo ſilly, as to encreaſe it by a *fruitleſs Anxiety*, but will make the beſt of his Condition, by a *diſcreet* management of himſelf and his Actions.

The diſference between the Morality of the Academicks and Stoicks.

Now *Ariſtotle*, that great Maſter of *Ethicks*, in his inquiſition after the *Properties* of *Moral Virtue*, firſt falls upon the

consideration of *Good*, what it is, and defines it to be, That which all our Desires aim at; and indeed, what can satisfie our Desires, but that which is *good*; for even *evil* things, when they are sought after, *appear* unto us under the shew of *good:* Whence comes that common distinction of *Bonum apparens & verum Bonum*; *Bonum sensui & Bonum rationi.* From this general description of what is good, he comes in particular to consider of *Bonum Homini*: And seeing there are many things which are indeed *profitable* and *good* for Man, he makes yet a more particular Enquiry, whether there be not some *one thing*, wherein every Man places the End of all his Desires.

'Tis true, that *every* Man proposeth to himself *somewhat*, which if he could once arrive at, he would think himself a happy Person. One seeketh *Pleasure* and *Ease*, as *Aristippus* and the *Cyrenaicks* did; a second would have *Indolence*, or a *freedom* from all *Trouble*, which the *Epicureans* wished for; another perhaps prefers a sort of *Wisdom* without *Sense*, like that of the *Stoicks*; One fixes his Mind upon *Wealth* and *Abundance*; another upon *Honor* and *State*; and a third shall pursue with all his *might* some *particular Course* of Life, as a *Trade*, or any way

The Philosophers divided in their Opinions about the Chiefest Good.

way of *Buſineſs*; which if he could bring to any perfection, he ſuppoſes he ſhould have his *Deſires* fully anſwered. A multitude of Fancies there are of this kind, almoſt as many as there are *Complexions* amongſt Men, wherein Mankind have been uſed to lodge their final *Good*, or the utmoſt ſcope of their *Wiſhes*. It will not therefore be amiſs to enquire, *what* this is, and whether it be poſſible to *find* that matter out, which would be adequate to all our Deſires.

And Firſt, IT may well be *doubted*, ſince no Man was ever yet known to *poſſeſs* on Earth, that thing which could *fully* ſatisfie him.

Secondly, IF we ſuppoſe any Man to have *had* it, yet the very Anxiety and Fear of *loſing* it, would abate much of the Pleaſure he might take in the Enjoyment of it.

Thirdly, THE unavoidable expectation of *Death* were enough to draw off all our Inclinations after this World, ſince that after Death, *Nature* affords us *no Proſpect* or *Certainty* of any thing, wherein we may place our laſt *Eaſe* and *Contentment*: So that the enquiry, *What* it is which would finally *content* us, is likely to prove no other, than that vain phantaſtical Labour which

many Men to their utter ruine have taken in purſuit of the *Philoſopher's Stone.*

NOTWITHSTANDING all this, we muſt find out ſomething, which we may truly call our *final Good:* For that reſtleſs Deſire after it, which is generally in all Men, cannot be to no purpoſe, ſince God and Nature never made any thing in *vain*, neither is it conſiſtent with his *Juſtice* or *Goodneſs* to put any Creature upon a continual Rack; the contrary to which were unavoidably true, if under the Sun there were nothing, which might anſwer this *univerſal Appetite.*

How Men have been miſtaken about their chiefeſt good.

BEFORE we affirm any thing concerning it, we muſt firſt determine, what *it is not:* For the Errors of Men have been ſo many, that we need be ſure of what we do, leſt we run into the ſame Miſtakes. The principal Cheat of all, which hath miſled moſt, is *Pleaſure*; by which I do not mean any *groſs* and *carnal* Pleaſure, of which Men are naturally *aſhamed*, as being very fickle and ſoon at an end; which will not ſuit with our laſt Hopes, that are *eternal.* For the Content received in *Meats* and *Drinks*, and the Conſequences thereof, *Luſt* and *Wantonneſs*, are ſo ſhort lived, ſo full of Satiety and Sickneſs, that even *Epicurus*

curus declared, the ſmalleſt Diet was the beſt; and indeed he that is reſolved to ſubdue his Body, muſt be ſure to cut off all *unneceſſary* Convoys of Meats and Drinks, and the Seige cannot laſt long. But as for that other more refin'd *Pleaſure*, which conſiſts in the *Satisfaction* of the *Mind*, and in the conſtant *Approbation* of *Virtue*; this comes near the point, but fails of it, as being a *Concomitant* of it, but not the *Thing* it ſelf.

Riches cannot be the end of our Deſires.

Secondly, MANY have choſen *Riches* and *Abundance* of all things for the *End* of their Deſires; but this will not hold, becauſe the perpetual Care of *preſerving* them, or the endleſs *Fear* of *loſing* them, will not ſuffer them to bring any *Happineſs* to us, which ought to be without *Care* of keeping, and without *Fear* of loſing.

Our Happineſs cannot be found in Honours.

Thirdly, THE more polite and elegant ſort of Men place their Felicity in *Honours*, but neither is it here to be found; for Honour is not in him that *bears*, but in him that *affords* it; as thoſe are honour'd, who diſcharge the greateſt weight of their Princes Affairs; and we often ſee that thoſe Men, which to day were moſt honour'd, and to morrow upon defiance of thoſe that honour'd them, prove moſt *contemptible*,

even for this reaſon, becauſe *Honor eſt in Honorante, non in Honorato.* But our laſt and true Happineſs muſt be found in *our ſelves*, and not in *other* Men.

Happineſs is not found in the increaſe of Knowledg,

Fourthly, SOME have thought themſelves happy only for their *great Skill* in *Letters*, which they have gotten with unwearied pains; the Authority of *Ariſtotle* hath driven them upon this Conceit, who according to his nice way of handling all things, hath divided *Knowledg* into *contemplative* and *practical*; whereas *Knowledg* is but the outward *dreſs* and *trimming* as it were of a Man, and may be found in the moſt unhappy, and cannot therefore be true *Felicity.*

Nor in the Idea of Good, as Plato *fancied.*

THERE are but two things remaining, in which ſome Men place their Happineſs; the firſt is the *Idea* of *Good*, a Fancy of *Plato's*; for he, conceiving that there were in God certain *Exemplaria*, or *Patterns* of all things in full perfection, taught, that in the Contemplation of *theſe* our *final Good* conſiſted. Some Doctrines of this kind have been delivered in our *Schools*; what elſe do the Scholaſtick Writers mean by their ſaying, that our laſt Happineſs muſt be had in the *viſual Sight* of God? But this muſt be after our Death, when we ſhall *behold* and

and *know* all things, according as they are in their most *perfect State*. But the Happineſs we now enquire for, muſt be ſuch, as may be enjoy'd in *this Life*: For it is altogether uncertain, whether any ſuch *Idea* be or no; and if there be, it doth not appear, which way the *Contemplation* of it hath an *influence* upon our *Manners*: So that theſe Ideas are not unlike King *Ptolomie*'s Man in *Lucian*, who was one half perfectly black, and the other exceeding white; ſo that part of the *Platonick* Theology, which relates to *Practice*, is very clear and intelligible, whilſt that which is employ'd in *Theory*, is monſtrouſly dark and obſcure.

THERE were alſo thoſe, who taught, That *Virtue* was that excellent thing, in which we ſhould find our chiefeſt *Good*; theſe Men came near, but fell ſhort of the Truth: For *Virtue* is a *Habit*, and Habits are for *Actions*: Now it is confeſſed, that our chiefeſt Good is our ultimate *End*, and all things are for *it*, but its ſelf for no *other* end. As for what *Ariſtotle* ſays, That a *happy* Man cannot be in a *calamitous* condition, he errs according to his Principles, by which he requires *Riches* and *Health* of Body to the making up his happy Man; whereas let him be in his Perſon either

health-

healthful or *diſeaſed*; let him be for his Fortunes *rich* or *poor*, all is one; for every Condition of Life is alike the Object of *Virtue*, and for that reaſon no ſtranger to *Happineſs*.

HAVING ſought after *Felicity* where it *is not*, it remains that we ſearch for it where it *is*; otherwiſe the moſt *natural* and moſt *ſincere* of all our Deſires would be *falſe* and *unprofitable*. Some define it to be *ſummum Bonum*; others *Bonum hominis maximè expetendum*; ſome that it's *Bonum homini per ſe ſufficiens*; that which is able alone to ſatisfie all our Deſires. All this and much more is true, and yet we are never the wiſer: For the Queſtion ſtill is, *what* wonderful thing this is, in which *all* theſe attributes are to be found. For in this caſe it happens as it doth with a *wayfaring* Man, who being asked, Whither he goes? Should anſwer to one Man, That he went to his Journeys end; to another, that he went thither where his Buſineſs lay; to a third, that he was travelling to a place, whither when he came, he need go no farther: For all this is true, and yet he hath not told whither he is going; had he reply'd, That he went to *London*, to *Paris*, or to *Rome*, he had ſatisfi'd the Enquirer.

Some

Some ſuch thing befalls us here; for to be the *chiefeſt Good*, the *laſt End*, to be the *moſt perfect Good*, and a thouſand things beſides we may be told, and yet our Journeys end not known at all. But without any more Circumlocutions, we may be poſitive, that our *Happineſs* conſiſts in *Action*, and in that action alone, which proceeds from *Virtue*, and we may define it thus, *Fœlicitas eſt actio vitæ ſecundum Virtutem*; for to lead our Lives according to *Virtue*, is in this Life the *Supreme Good*, and he that knows no more of *Happineſs* than *this*, may reſt contented, and enquire no farther. *Ariſtotle* ſeems to require a little more; but ſome Men are ſo vain, that they know not when they have ſaid enough.

Our Happineſs conſiſts in thoſe Actions that proceed from Virtue.

THAT the leading our Life by the Rules of *Virtue*, is the only true *Happineſs*, appears by this, that it hath *all* thoſe *Properties* which are required to make true *Happineſs*.

Firſt, IT is in *our power*; for we ſee frequent Advices uſed to bring Men to the Practice of *Virtue*, which were altogether vain, had they no power to become ſo; for who ever adviſed a Man to an Impoſſibility?

Secondly, IT is *proper* to *Mankind*; for what do we behold in any other kind of Being,

Being, that can make us either eaſie or happy? The rational Faculties, which are buſied in moderating thoſe Paſſions, that are common to us and Beaſts, are in none but Man; by the ſtrength whereof we can maſter theſe Heats of the Mind, and make them ſubmit to better Conduct.

Thirdly, THIS only affords us *Quiet* and *Contentment*. Had we all thoſe glorious things which the Vulgar gaze at and admire; let there be wanting only the inward teſtimony of a good *Conſcience*, which *Virtue* only can give us, all theſe are as nothing, and but cold Comforts, and which is worſt of all, they will at length fail. For Honour, Wealth, and Pleaſure have Wings and fly away; only the memory of a virtuous Life laſts for ever. The Excellency of all things in the World conſiſts more in *Opinion* than *Reality*; in *Expectation* much more than *Enjoyment*: Beſides a great part of a Man's Life is gone before he arrives at 'em; and when his Senſes are dim with Age, Pleaſures are unſavory to the Palate. And if we conſider theſe things ſingly and apart, they are of no weight at all; and this is the Misfortune, no Man can enjoy them all *together*; for how can any one think it a Felicity to have a ſtrong *Body* without

The things of this World not ſufficient to make us happy.

out ſoundneſs of *Mind*; to have his *Granaries* full and his *Conſtitution* crazy: What are *Riches*, unleſs *Pleaſures* attend them? Yet he that follows *Pleaſure*, ſhall never get *Riches*: What profits it, to have a healthy *Body* and a weak *Soul*? Yet the pampering the *former*, will ſurely bring feebleneſs upon the *latter*: What doth it ſignifie to multiply *Notions*, and enlarge our *Knowledg* of things, when he that encreaſes his *Knowledg*, encreaſes only his *Sorrow*: Nay the *Glories* of this World will diſappoint a Man in that very matter, which they particularly promiſed him: For if you ask the Rich Man, whether his *Wealth* hath freed him from *Care*, or hath afforded him any *Eaſe*; he will tell you, That the poor Man's *Neceſſities* are not ſo heavy, as his *Troubles* are by reaſon of his great *Abundance*, whereby his Spirits are broken inſtead of being ſupported. So Men in the higheſt Places of *Honour*, may believe themſelves ſafe and enſlaved to no Man's Will; but it is quite otherwiſe, no Perſons are ſo much concerned in the *Humors* of thoſe below them and of thoſe above them too, as they are. Thus tranſitory and vain is the Happineſs of every *voluptuous* Man, he finds in the iſſue nothing but *Vexation*; ſo that

that there is not half so much delight in the Fruitions of Luxury, as there is in the Denial of our Defires after it.

An honest Life is the most happy state.

WHEREFORE setting aside *Aristotle's* Phrases, in plain Language, the result of all our Felicity amounts to no more than this, to *live honestly*: For the Word *Honesty*, tho S. *Augustine* could afford it no higher a place in the Life of a Christian, than to be a *Tyrocinium Christiani*, is indeed the chief Ingredient in a virtuous and good Disposition, and mingleth it self with every part of our Christian Life, whatsoever state it be, high or low: For whether it concern God or man, rich or poor, fortunate or miserable; whether in publick or private, in a high Condition, or in a low and inferior Orb, to behave our selves becomingly, and as we ought, upon every occasion, is all summ'd up in the Word *Honesty*. Whatsoever the Philosophers have asserted concerning other things, *Bona Fortunæ*, *Bona Corporis*, serves only to breed unnecessary Disputes: Therefore *Lucian*, that witty and sharp Sensor of the Philosophers, calls the *Epicureans* φιληδονοι, the Followers of *Plato* φιλοδοξοι, the Peripateticks φιλοπλουτοι; for according as they stood affected to *Pleasure*, *Honor*, and *Wealth*, so they pronounced of

of their *Happineſs*: And *Ariſtotle* was ſo extremely taken with *Wealth*, that he made his *Vice* a part of his *Philoſophy*, and entitles his *Riches* unto *Happineſs*: But we have reſolved upon better Grounds, not to venture our ſelves, where he, a great Maſter in Science, was ſhipwreckt; neither will ſeek for Happineſs where he could never find it in this World: But we muſt look for it in true *Religion*, the *Knowledg* of God, in the expectation of *future Bliſs*, things which *Ariſtotle* never dreamt of: For all things upon Earth are little and narrow, ſhort and ſcanty, but every thing in *Religion* is vaſt and infinite; what can be more ſo, than to live always with *God*, and to have a perpetual Joy in a *Man's Self*. Here, as in a Glaſs, we behold the beſt and moſt deſireable Objects; her Revelations refreſh and bear up our Spirits, becauſe in them the *Mind* is at *peace*, and we may with the moſt raviſhing delight, lay out our *whole* Thoughts upon Heavenly things, which as they are moſt *remote*, ſo they are too *fine* for the impreſſions of *Senſe*. Here we have the moſt healing Remedies againſt all the *Miſeries* of Human Life, a Relief for every *Agony* of the Mind, and a Comfort againſt every *Danger*: Whereas to be *rich* or *honorable*,

The Excellency of Religion.

norable, to be *wise* or *powerful*, will not pacifie one troubled Thought, because they are only the Creatures of *Fancy*; but the Principles of *Religion* sink deeper into our *Reason*, and acquaint it with the glad Tidings of a *better Life* hereafter. In the Case of Religion therefore it is true, what *Tully* says of Phylosophy, It is useful in all Conditions, a Comfort in *Prosperity*, and a Refreshment in *Adversity*, the safest *Guide* to direct us in a prosperous state, and if we fall lower, the most faithful *Friend* to put us in hopes of Deliverance: Therefore it prescribes such Rules of Life, as will never fail, if they be carefully pursued, neither can a *religious* Man be ever disappointed in his *Hopes*, because they are as *certain* and *true* as the Decrees of God: For no Man ever sought the Kingdom of God and the Righteousness thereof, but found it.

Religion useful in all conditions of life.

HENCE we may say of our *Religion*, that it is pregnant with *Wisdom* and *Happiness*; it is admirably consonant to the Desires and Needs of *Humane Nature*; it is agreeable to the Faculties of Men, infinitely serviceable to the *Content* and *Tranquillity* of the Mind; it is such a thing, as every *wise* Man would *chuse*, as most becoming the Dignity of *Rational*

tional Nature, and moſt conducive to his *Happineſs*: It rids the Mind of irkſom and vexatious *Thoughts*, exempts Men from the Troubles and Tumults of diſquieting *Paſſions*; it frees the Conſcience of all ſad *Reflections*; is the greateſt Art of *Joy* and *Pleaſure*; It makes us Godlike as well in the *Happineſs* as in the *Purity* of our Lives; In ſhort, it hath in it all the *excellent* and *amiable* Qualities which can prevail upon the Reaſons and Affections of Mankind.

HAVING then defined *Happineſs* to be, the leading of our Lives according to *Virtue*, it remains in the ſecond place, that we make enquiry, What *Virtue* is? Which that we may the better do, we are to enquire, in what *order* and *rank* of things to find it. It being a *Quality*, it muſt be either an *Habit*, or a *Paſſion*, but a *Paſſion* it cannot be; for *Paſſions*, ſuch as Fear, Anger, Luſt, and the like, are *Natural*; but *Vertue* is gotten by *Care* and *Study*. Now it was never known, that any Man was *born* virtuous, but attain'd unto it by long Practice. *Virtue* therefore muſt be reckon'd amongſt *Habits*; for they only are contracted by *Labor* and *Induſtry*: Now *Habits* have ſomething of relation; we muſt therefore find out ſomething, unto which this

Virtue, which is a *Habit*, doth refer: To know this, we muſt underſtand, that there are ſome things in our Nature, which we call *Affections*, or *Paſſions*, or *Perturbations*; if they *gently* move us, we call them *Affections*; if more *ſtrongly*, they are *Paſſions*; if more *boiſtrouſly*, then we name 'em *Perturbations*: So that theſe are really *one thing* called by *three Names*, according to that degree of heat into which they put us.

How Virtue moderates the Paſſions. Now, that which holds the Bridle and governs their Motions; which allays their Heat, if it be too violent; raiſes them if they be too low; which gives their juſt degree, ſets bounds to their raging; keeps 'em from Exceſs, if they prove too warm, and from Deficiency, if they be too tame. This is that which we uſually call *Virtue*, and may be defin'd *Moderatrix Paſſionum*; for this Definition ſufficiently opens the Nature and Condition of it: But *Ariſtotle* would have us go a little more about the Buſh, and takes more pains than needs. Now he will have *Virtue* to be *Habitus* μεσαιρετικὸς *in mediocritate conſiſtens*; by which word μεσαιρετικὸς are excluded all thoſe things which are done raſhly and by chance, naturally by coaction or conſtraint, the meaning whereof may be underſtood by

by conſidering 1ſt, there is βυλὴ, Reaſon or Advice. 2ly βύλησις, *voluntas*, or the Will. Now for want of proper Words to expreſs the thing, we are often forced to confound the ſame Action in *Men* and in *Beaſts:* For that which is ἀρχὴ πράξεως, the beginning of action, in *Men* and in *Beaſts*, in Beaſts hath no proper word to expreſs it, but we call it by that general Name of ὁρμὴ, and this in the action of Man is named βύλησις. Altho the thing be one and the ſame in both; yet many times the want of a *Proper Name* to expreſs it by, doth breed ſome *Confuſion*. The Philoſopher tells us, That Men do many things, ὐ προαιρούμενοι, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ θυμοῦ, when they follow the Suggeſtions of Senſe, and not the Dictates of Reaſon. S. *Auguſtine* plainly diſtinguiſhes them, when he ſaith, *Voluntas eſt non niſi in bonis; nam in malis flagitioſiſque factis cupiditas propriè dicitur, non voluntas:* The intellectual part is that, from whence ſpring all rational Actions, and in the *judgment* ruling the Will lies all the blame or the good, that is praiſe-worthy in what we do. Whilſt Beaſts work and act with all ſuddenneſs, and without deliberation, Man works conſiderately and with advice; in our Language we call this Free Will, in

The intellectual part is the Spring of all rational Actions.

Latin *liberum arbitrium*, in Greek ἐφ' ἡμῖν & οὐκ ἐφ' ἡμῖν. As for that proud and insolent word αὐτεξούσιον, it is not to be heard of in the Writings of *Epictetus*, or any modeſt Philoſopher, but only among ſome *Greek* Divines; and in them nothing more is meant by it, than that Power which Man hath over his Moral Actions: This is that *Spirit* of our *Minds*, as the Apoſtle terms it, which makes our Actions *virtuous*: For we are not moved as natural Agents are, but it is in our power to leave the things we do undone; neither can there be any *Choice*, unleſs the thing which we take, be ſo in our power, that we might have refuſed it; and we muſt take ſpecial care, that we diſtinguiſh between the *Will* and the *Appetite*; the Object of the firſt is, whatſoever good we may be lead to by *Reaſon*; the Object of the latter is, whatſoever good may be deſired by *Senſe*: Now Affections, ſuch as Joy, and Grief, Fear and Anger, being, as it were, the ſundry Modes of of *Appetite*, can neither be ſtirr'd by a thing indifferent, nor forbear being moved at the ſight of ſome other things; ſo that it is not altogether in our power ſo to *moderate* theſe Affections, as *never* to be moved by them; but we may command the Actions that

The Will and Appetite diſtinguiſhed.

that iſſue from the Diſpoſition of the *Will*. And to our *Wills* only our *Paſſions* are ſubject; not that it is in our power *wholly*, whether we will be *angry* or not, whether we will be moved by *Luſt* or *Fear*, but only when they are up, and would hurry us into evil Actions, it is in our power to *reſtrain* their force, and to do nothing at their command: For wherein we cannot be hindred, there only are we *free*; but in whatſoever we may be hindered, there we have not this *Liberty*: So ſmall a matter it is, called *Free-will*, that hath kindled ſo much Controverſie, and raiſed ſo great a ſtir amongſt Men.

Paſſions are ſubject only to the Will.

AND here cometh in a third thing, which we are to obſerve, βούλευσις, that is, *Conſultation*; wherein we ſee the neceſſity of having *Free-will*. For ſince in many important Caſes of Human Life it doth not appear, what is to be done upon the ſudden, it is neceſſary to take ſome time to *adviſe* and *conſult*. Beaſts, becauſe they ſee upon the ſudden what they have to do, have not this benefit of Advice, but as ſoon as ever they ſee what to avoid, and what to purſue, immediatly act accordingly: But with *Man* it is not ſo; many things there are, which at firſt ſight, *ſeem* fair and deſireable

ſireable, that upon examination *prove* otherwiſe; and many things are harſh, unpleaſant, or dangerous at *firſt ſight*, which upon *tryal* are fitted for our uſe, and therefore ought to be purſued.

HENCE it is, that our ὁρμὴ or *Inclination* to act, muſt be frequently ſuſpended, and not preſently be ſet on work, but upon ſerious *Conſideration*, what is moſt fit and convenient for us to do: And here comes in προαίρεσις or Election, which is as it were the Concluſion from the Premiſes.

WHATSOEVER therefore offers its ſelf to us, is firſt βέλτιον. for ſome reaſon to be deſired; ſecondly βουλευτὸν, it muſt admit of Conſultation; and in the third place it muſt be προαιρετὸν, fit upon good advice to be choſen. This is the juſt meaning of what *Ariſtotle* ſays of Virtue, that it is *habitus* προαιρετικὸς *vel electivus*.

The Art of living well conſiſts much in the well ordering the Paſſions.

BEFORE we come to conſider further of his *Definition*, wherein the very *Form* of *Virtue* doth conſiſt, it will not be amiſs to ſpeak ſomewhat of the *Paſſions* of the Mind, in the due framing of which into order, the very *Art*, as it were, of living well doth conſiſt.

NOW the *mind* of Man, from whence they come, hath two principal parts; the one proper to *Man*; the other common to *Him*

Him and *Beaſts*; the firſt we call the *Intellectual* Part or *Reaſon*; the ſecond is *Senſe* or ſenſual *Appetite*. Reaſon is the τ' ἡγεμονικὸν and Guide to Senſe, whoſe Virtues are *Prudence*, *Science*, *Art*, and ſuch like, which becauſe they are not *Moral* but *Intellectual* Vertues, we ſhall not at preſent ſpeak to: For *Senſe* is our Subject, as being the proper Object and Matter of *Moral Virtue*. Which inferior part of the Soul is divided by Philoſophers into *concupiſcible* and *iraſcible*; the former tends to that which is *good* and *delightful*; the latter arms the Soul againſt whatſoever is *diſagreeable* and *difficult*.

BETWIXT theſe two all the affections are divided and are chiefly employed in their Buſineſs: Concupiſcence, Deſire, Luſt, Hunger, Thirſt, Hatred, and others of the like Nature belong to that, which we call the *concupiſcible* part: Pride, Contempt, Impatience, Anger, Fear, Boldneſs and the like generous and brave Paſſions, belong to what we ſay is the *iraſcible* part of the mind. Whatſoever it is that ſtrikes the Soul, touches it to the quick, and moves it to Action or Paſſion, muſt needs proceed from one of theſe: wherefore to give theſe their juſt meaſure and proportion, to mould and temper 'em well, is the proper Office of *Moral Virtue*. *The Office of Moral Virtue is to govern the Paſſions.*

Now all the Paſſions of the ſenſitive Soul are apt to offend in being either too much, or too little, and the prudent choice of juſt what is enough, is the chief work of Virtue. Which *Mediocrity* is call'd by thoſe who love to talk learnedly or rather obſcurely, *Arithmetical* and *Geometrical*: Arithmetical Mediocrity is that, which is equally diſtant from both extremes, is ever one and the ſame; as the Mean between Two and Ten, is unalterably Six, which by Four exceeds Two, and by Four, fails of Ten: For if we add Four to Two it makes Six, but if we add Four to Six, it makes Ten. Geometrical Mediocrity is ſo placed betwixt the extremes, as the matter requires, to which it is refer'd; therefore it is ſometimes more, ſometimes leſs, and not always the ſame: Such a *medium*, as the Taylor obſerves in making your Apparel, he requires not the ſame meaſure of Cloth for all, but only ſo much as is neceſſary for your Perſon: For the Phyſician, if Two Drams of Rhubarb will not ſerve for *his Potion*, doth not forthwith infuſe *ſix* or *ten* more, but he examines the Nature of the Diſeaſe, the Strength and Conſtitution of the Patient; and accordingly he makes up his Doſe. Such a kind of

What the Mediocrity is in which Virtue is ſaid to be placed.

of *medium* is Vertue, ſometimes inclining to the leſs, ſometimes to the more; as it is in *temperance*; where the Mediocrity is not ſtill the ſame, but changes according to the variety of Perſons: A Student, who is but of a thin body, or a ſickly perſon eats not ſo much as a Day-Labourer, but eats in proportion to the ability of his Stomach; the liberal man gives not always the ſame Alms; the wealthy give more, men of meaner Eſtates leſs: So the Widows two Mites were ſufficient, becauſe ſhe gave according to her Condition; the rich Phariſee gives perhaps a great deal more, and yet gives too little, becauſe he beſtows not his Charity according to the largeneſs of his Means: Hence it is, that Virtues are σχετικαὶ τοῦ μέσου, aim at the *medium*; and hence it alſo comes to paſs, that it is ſo difficult to find the true *medium* out; for there are infinite ways to miſs, or to ſhoot beſide the Mark, but there is only one way to hitt it.

Why Youth are not fit Hearers of Moral Philoſophy

To do which one thing, a virtuous Man muſt have the *perfect* uſe of his *Reaſon*: upon this account ſome Philoſophers have diſputed, whether *young* Perſons ſhould hear or read their Leſſons, and have determined, they ſhould not: And *Ariſtotle* ſets it down for

for a Maxim, that *Youth* are not fit Hearers of Moral Philoſophy. For the fickleneſs of their Fancy, the unrulineſs of their Paſſions, the wild Sallies of their Affections, ſuffer 'em not to reap any benefit by virtuous Diſcipline or Education: But when *Age* hath ſomewhat cool'd the Heats of Paſſion; when Wiſdom and Experience hath cured all the Boylings of their Blood, and hath maſter'd every exorbitant Humour: Then is the proper time to cultivate the Soil, and ſow the Seeds of Vertue.

HOWSOEVER it be with this part of *Ariſtotle*'s Doctrin, yet by the method he preſcribes, the Hearer of Moral Precepts muſt have ſuch a ſhare of *Prudence*, as may render him able to chooſe ſo much Paſſion, as is due unto the Action which he undertakes.

HOW this Choice can be made by *Youth*, unleſs they be firſt well diſciplined, is more than *Ariſtotle* hath taught us: For making all Virtue to flow from *Prudence*; he allotts no time to learn *Wit*, which muſt be wrought in us by chance or ſome good fortune: For *Prudence* being a ſolidand conſtant Habit, and all Habits being gotten by the repetition of frequent Acts, ſome ſpace of time there muſt be in which theſe Acts, that produce

produce our Habits, muſt be practiſed. Now whether Age or Youth be the fitter ſeaſon to plant Virtue in the mind, let thoſe make it a queſtion who are ignorant, whether the *Spring* or *Autumn* be the better Seed-time.

SEEING that the ſowing of this good Seed doth bring forth the beſt and the greateſt Men; thoſe, who are moſt ſerviceable to God, and thoſe that are moſt uſeful in the World: it will be worth our while to conſider what that time of our Life is in which the Principles of Virtue ought to be imbibed: In order to a more cloſe enquiry into this matter, we will firſt ſee, what the natural ſtate of the youthful Age is; ſecondly, we will prove it to be the beſt and moſt proper time to learn the great Art of living well.

A Character of the Youthful Age.

FIRST, YOUNG Men are violent in their Deſires, and ever eager to execute them; they have by natural Heat that diſpoſition, which elder Ages have by *Wine*; Youth being a *kind* of Natural *Drunkenneſs*; they eaſily forſake, what they have much longed for, being very inconſtant, and they love Honour or Succeſs, more than Mony, as having not been yet in want; they are good-natur'd, becauſe they have not been acquainted

acquainted with much malice, and they are credulous, becauſe they have not yet been often deceived; they are ſtout for that they have not yet been caſt down by the Misfortunes of Human Life, and on all occaſions are apt to err in the exceſs, rather than in the Defect, becauſe they overdo every thing.

THIS being the natural State of our youthful Age, in the next place we will conſider, whether this be the beſt time to learn Virtue in. Now, in my Opinion, to plant the Principles of Virtue in the firſt Age of our lives, is the ſame thing as to build a Houſe upon a Rock: No Storms nor Winds ſhall ſhake it; it being in Civil as it is in Natural Plantations; where young tender trees, though ſubject to the injuries of the Air, and in danger even of their own flexibility, would yet little want any Underproppings, if they were at firſt well faſtned in their Roots: 'Tis true, at this time the mind is moſt in danger of being miſled by Fancies, and of being diſturbed by Paſſions, which are the various motions thereof towards Objects agreeable or diſagreeable: But theſe and the Inclinations too which are only the more frequent exerciſe of the Paſſions, are all made obedient to ſound Reaſon,

Reaſon and moſt tenacious of the rules of Vertue, if they are received betimes.

Reaſons, Why Youth is the fitteſt time to learn Virtue.

FOR before the Veſſel be ſeaſoned with one kind of Liquor it is equally capable of all, and ſo the Wax is indifferent to any impreſſion, before it is moulded and determined by a particular Seal: If the mind be *raſa Tabula*, as *Ariſtotle* would have it, then this White Paper may beſt be inriched with good Inſcriptions, before it be ſoiled or blotted with evil: Or if there be any innate, connatural Notions, which the *Platoniſts* affirm, it is beſt then to awaken them, before evil Cuſtoms of Life deaden their vigor; as it happens to the body from an Obſtruction in the Nerves: For doubtleſs all Evil is a kind of *Intellectual Opium*, caſts the Faculties of the mind (as I may ſo ſay) into a *Moral Apoplexy*; and ſo according to the opinion of one Philoſopher blots the White Paper; according to another it is deſtructive of the very firſt principles in Nature: whereas he, who lays his Foundation upon the principles of Virtue, ſhall direct the courſe of his Life with that Uniformity, as will bear him up under all the Accidents, he can be expoſed to; he will be guided by ſuch Rules, as he never needs Change; but his whole Life will be blameleſs

leſs, his Actions well weigh'd, his Words diſcreet, his Thoughts regular, and in all things ſhall he live according to the utmoſt perfection Human Nature is capable of.

YOUTH being an Age fitteſt to learn not only the rudiments of divers Languages, but the moſt uſeful Knowledge both of God and of our ſelves; becauſe in Youth the Powers of the mind and the Strength of the body are alike vigorous, clear and active; the Inſtrument is not as yet broken, nor out of tune; the Organs are not yet diſturbed; the Underſtanding is not bribed with Error; nor the Will as yet grown ſtubborn and ſtiff in bad Courſes; Prejudices are not ſtrong enough to darken the Object, or the Faculty that is to apprehend them; the Habits of Vice are as yet unlearned and unpractiſed; the Memory is not at leiſure to furniſh its Store-houſe with vain *Idea*'s; it is neither choakt with Straw, nor ſtopt wth Mud; the Impertinency of worldly buſineſs is not yet become a burden too heavy for the mind to bear.

BESIDES all Impreſſions made in the days of Youth are ſtrong and deep, ſo that what is now well fix'd in the Soul, will not eaſily leave it: And if the princi-

ples

ples of Virtue, like ſmall and gentle Rain, be by degrees diſtilled on the growing Plant, the riper Age is like to bring forth a more plentiful harveſt; for Vertue only preſcribes to a man a true and certain end to all his Endeavours, which is the Glory of God in the firſt place, then the doing as much Good as he can, to himſelf and others: This being the moſt high and noble End, the ſooner one ſets about it the better 'tis; for thereby we avoid all lowneſs of Spirit, confuſion in our Actions, and all inconſtancy in our Reſolutions: And that Youth is beſt prepared for this work, is manifeſt, becauſe it is an Age very inquiſitive; equally capable, and poſſibly inclined to Good, as Evil; and many of thoſe Sins, which owe both their Birth and Growth to the Senſes, are not yet fit Temptations; the Paſſions are not yet ready to catch fire at every ſpark; the feign'd, but falſe Beauty of Vice is not alluring; the Virgin Purity of the mind is not defloured, nor its native Modeſty laid waſt. But if this Age be not uſed to the ſeverity of Labour, and the ſtrict exerciſes of Virtue, ſenſual Pleaſures will break in, and then is kindled that continual Combat, ſo much ſpoken of by Philoſophers and Divines,

Divines, between Senſe and Reaſon, the Body and the Soul, Pleaſure and Wiſdom.

WHEN the Blood therefore is warm; the Paſſions run high and are powerful, but Reaſon is weak; when the Body, like an unruly Beaſt, is untame and unbroken; when Reaſon and Judgment are, like the Morning Star, ſtifled and overcaſt with Vapours; then it is proper to put on a Bitt and Bridle; to keep ſtrong Reins, and a ſteddy Hand: Then Youth is to be held in, from thoſe Deluſions, that hinder the true Underſtanding and real Notions of things; from all ill Company and Writings, leaſt they ſhould be taken with the beautiful, but falſe colours, that are put upon vicious and bad manners.

FOR Young Men naturally think they can do, and may do every thing, as they liſt; they are blind, therefore the more bold; they are impotent, but yet preſumptuous; Fancy is now as active, as the Wind, but withal it is diſorderly and tempeſtuous: Youth is not idle, and yet ſeldom well imployed; it is reſtleſs and very impertinent: it being that part of our time, wherein we are moſt expoſed to the Snares of the Devil; theſe are troubled Waters in which his Baits are ſeldom ſeen, and therefore they are the more

Youth is in the greateſt danger of Temptations.

more greedily ſwallowed: Upon this account it concerns men much in their Youth to remember their Creator, becauſe he only can protect them from their Enemies of all ſorts: Their Clay is, as it were, but juſt formed into Human ſhape; it is but as yet ſcarce dry from the Potter's hand: And as it is now in the beſt manner fitted for the Signatures of Virtue; ſo it is moſt lyable to the Impreſſions of Sin and the Father of it: They are now as Tradesmen newly ſet up; their Souls are well furniſhed with a common ſtock of Natural Principles, and their Bodies are adorn'd like the richeſt Shop, in which the Trade of Life and Happineſs is to be driven: They ſhould therefore be careful in a ſpecial manner, that they do not break at the firſt ſetting up, as unwary Merchants are wont to do; for their rational Faculties, the choiceſt Goods of the mind, will waſt and decay, if they are wrapt up in Idleneſs, and the Devil will gain Advantages over them: So that it behoves them to reſiſt his Temptations at firſt; to ſet the ſtrongeſt Guard in the weakeſt place, and to double the ſecurity, where they expect the ſharpeſt Aſſaults; to oppoſe his Craft with Watchfulneſs; his Subtilty with

ſtrict and unwearied diligence; to ſtudy God's Service in the firſt place, and to *do their actions the beſt way:* And ſince in every Age the ſame Faculties are employed, only the Objects changed, and the Actions of thoſe Faculties are not many; it muſt needs be that our whole Life is but the *Reacting* the ſame things over upon divers Subjects and occaſions: in Infancy little quarrels with our Brethren and peeviſhneſs, are afterwards *Angers*, *Hatreds*, *Envies*, *Prides*, *Jealouſies*; and a ſenſibleneſs in Youth for a frivolous Play-thing is the ſame afterwards for Honour or Intereſt: If it be ſo, then He that begins early to love and fear God, will ſo increaſe in virtuous Deeds, which are conſequent thereupon, that his Converſation will be in every reſpect as becomes the Goſpel of Chriſt.

AND ſince a ſeaſonable time is a circumſtance requiſite both to the Eſſence and Ornament of every Action: in that time therefore, in which the abilities of our Minds are freſh and lively; thoſe of the Body alſo vigorous and ſtrong; it is pity we ſhould be idle and do nothing; and yet more, that we ſhould be active and do evil; we muſt think it a very unjuſt, as well as unreaſonable thing to ſpend the flower and fruit

fruit of our Age upon this; when Vertue and Religion have only broken Intellectuals, dead Affections, a ſlippery Memory, and a tired Judgment, beſides all other infirmities, that neceſſarily attend the ruin of Nature in old Age; when men do every thing leſs earneſtly, than is fit; when they are of poor and mean Spirits, as having been humbled by the chances of Life; when they have weak or no deſires, and Hearts to execute nothing; when they are full of murmuring and complaint, as ever thinking themſelves not far from ſome evil or danger; So that this is an Age too much a burden to its ſelf, and to all about it, than to be able, to go through all the ſervices of Vertue. For who can expect Grapes of Thorns, or Figs of Thiſtles; the moroſe and froward time of our Life; the Froſt, Snow and Winter ſeaſon being not for Fruit any more in the workings of Vertue, than it is in Nature: it being very difficult to begin the Chriſtian Race, when that of Nature is almoſt finiſhed, which good Fight is a hard warfare for old and decrepit Limbs.

The unfitneſs of old Age for the ſervices of Vertue.

Now the Prudence of old Age conſiſts in a deliberate knowledg of Men and Buſineſs, founded upon long experience; but the Folly of it is the ignorance of Vertue and

Religion, which at laſt will appear the only true and real Wiſdom. Therefore the Moral Philoſopher chaſtiſes the neglect and indiſcretion of thoſe Men, who then begin to live, when they are to die; there being little ſupport and leſs comfort in declining years, beſides a *ſober* reflection upon what *we have done* well; and nothing can ſweeten a ſour and crabbed Age, but the calling to mind a good Life paſſed: For as Vertue and Goodneſs is the moſt excellent accompliſhment of Youth; ſo the innocency thereof is the joy and Crown of gray Hairs: which are then truly honourable, when they are found in the way of Righteouſneſs.

WHEREFORE let us not deceive our own Souls, but with all our might follow the ſervices of Vertue, as ſoon as we are able to diſtinguiſh between true and falſe, good and evil: Let weak and diſeaſed Perſons preſent themſelves to their Prince and ſee, if they can perſuade him to turn his Court into an Hoſpital, make up his Guards with Cripples, and be attended with nothing, but Age and Impotency: If the King will not do this, how can we expect that God ſhould; as if the buſineſs of Religion were to be done, when we are capable of doing nothing, as we ſhould do; and God were to be ſatisfied with

with thoſe poor remainders of Strength and Spirit, which the hard ſervices of Sin and the Devil have left us: No ſure; This is an undertaking far more noble and difficult, the work of Angels in Heaven and of the wiſeſt Men upon Earth, and then is moſt acceptable, when it is the Employment of our firſt and beſt Age.

FROM what hath been ſaid then, this Inference may be made; that Youth muſt be taught to moderate their Paſſions, and not be left undiſciplined, till Age and Experience have wrought it in them. And the way to learn Vertue is to watch over our Paſſions betimes, and to make choice of that degree, which *beſits* us. For the actions before the Habit, and by which the Habit is created, differ not *ſpecie*, but only in perfection from thoſe, which follow the Habit; and it is a general Law, which is laid upon all things, that are acquired by Study, to ariſe from Imperfection to Perfection, from Weakneſs to Strength.

WHICH Perfection conſiſts in this, to demean our ſelves upon all occaſions, *prudently*, *wiſely*, and *adviſedly*: inſomuch that ſome *Moraliſts* have doubted, whether all *Moral Vertues* may not be ſumm'd up in one, namely *Prudence*, *nullum numen abeſt, ſi ſit*

Prudentia: Wherefore that multiplicity of Vertues, which is delivered by *Ariſtotle*, was only for our more eaſie learning the diviſion of this one into ſundry parts; that ſo we might as it were eat by *ſpoonfuls*, where we cannot ſwallow at once *the whole Meſs*. But before we treat of the Vertues in particular, it will be neceſſary to conſider certain Rules and Obſervations, which *Ariſtotle* hath made, becauſe they do not a little conduce to the practice of Vertue.

FIRST, Leſt we ſhould flatter our ſelves in thinking, that we have attained unto Vertue, before indeed we have; we muſt learn to diſtinguiſh between the doing of what is *Good* and the doing *it well*; betwixt *bonum agere & benè agere:* For in all kinds of Vertue, we may do that for *good*, which proves at the laſt an evil Action through the defect of ſome Circumſtance.

The circumſtances requiſite to every virtuous Action.

Secondly, THAT we may not only do that, which is good, but do it well; we muſt conſider, that a multitude of Circumſtances attend every virtuous Action that we do; the firſt thing to be known is, who it is, that doth the Action; for every thing becomes not every Man: as for Example, when in the Council of *Sparta*, a wicked Perſon had given good Advice, the Senators took care,

that

that a Man of better Credit ſhould give the ſame, leſt the Council, which was good and wiſe, might be ſuſpected, and have ill ſucceſs, through the bad Character of him, who gave it: So in receiving Courteſies, we muſt take heed, we receive not every thing of every Man in every place; μητὰ πάντα, μητὰ πάντων, μητὰ παρὰ πάντων; For it is a diſgrace to be obliged by an unworthy Giver; And *Abraham* would accept no gift from the *King* of *Sodom*, that he might not ſay, *I have made Abraham rich:* again, we muſt conſider, what it is, that is done; For as *Circumſtances* require, ſo Actions are cenſured either for good or bad; We are bound alſo to conſider, where an Action is done; For all Actions are not in all places alike: Theſe three conſiderations are very well expreſſed in the Advice, which Q. *Cicero* gave to his Brother *Marcus*, when He ſued for the Conſulſhip; For He exhorts him thus to think, *Novus ſum, Conſulatum peto, Roma eſt*; in the words *Novus ſum* is ſignified the Perſon, who made the Suit; for an Upſtart was to bear himſelf otherwiſe in his Petition, than *vir Patricius*, an ancient Nobleman: in *Conſulatum peto* is implyed the ſecond Circumſtance, what it was He ſued for, the ſupreme place of Government in the Com-

monwealth; and *Roma eſt* ſhews the Place, where his *Suit* lay, not in *ulubræ* a *petty Market Town*, but in that Chief City of the Empire.

MANY other Circumſtances there are, by which our Actions are to be managed: the chief whereof are contained in that known Verſe,

Quis, quid, ubi, quibus auxiliis, cur, quomodo, quando.

He, that can carefully obſerve all theſe Circumſtances, and ſhall do what they require; that Man only ſhall diſcreetly diſcharge every part of Virtue, and behave himſelf according to to the beſt Reaſon: For by *Reaſon* we mean nothing but the Mind of Man making uſe of the wiſeſt and moſt prudential Methods, to guide it ſelf in all its Actions; and therefore it is not confined to any ſort of Maxims and Principles in Philoſophy, but it extends it ſelf to any knowledg that may be gained by Prudence, Experience and Obſervation.

What Reaſon is.

THIRDLY, HAVING already aſſerted, that *Virtue* is lodged in the middle between two Extremes, which are both *Vices*, and both its Adverſaries, we do now ſay, that the two Extremes, are not for the moſt part alike

like repugnant to it; but the one approaches nearer, than the other: As for inſtance, *profuſeneſs*, one extreme of Liberality, doth much more partake of that Virtue, and comes nearer it, than the other extreme, which is *Avarice*; for this reaſon Men uſually pity the Prodigal, but abominate and hate the Covetous. In this caſe therefore our Rule muſt be, to decline that *Extreme*, which is the more hateful, and lean rather to that other, which is more friendly and like the Virtue, which we deſign to practiſe: But we muſt carry our ſelves ſo circumſpectly, that we do not fall into the Crime cenſur'd by the Poet,

Dum vitant Stulti vitia in contraria currunt.

Fourthly, We can do nothing *well* or *virtuouſly*, unleſs we diligently look into and try our own natural Inclinations: which are nearer to us, than all things elſe, and yet nothing is farther off from our Acquaintance; we muſt examine all the windings and Labyrinths of our whole Frame, and ſee, by what Pullies and Wheels all the operations of our Minds are performed; ſo that we may follow her workings from the firſt impreſſions of Senſe, then of the Imagination and Judgment into the Principles both of

What our natural inclinations are, and how they are to be governed.

of Natural and Supernatural Motions: Then we may, as in a Glaſs, perceive, how the Soul arbitrates in the Underſtanding upon the ſeveral reports of Senſe and all the varieties of Imagination; how pliant the Will is to her Dictates, and obeys her, as a Queen doth her King, who both acknowledges a Subjection and yet retains a Majeſty; How the Paſſions move at her Command, like a well governed Army, not for Fighting, but for Rank and Order; from which regular compoſure of the Faculties, all moving in their due Place, each ſtriking in its proper Time, there ariſes a Complacency upon the whole Soul, infinitely beyond all other pleaſures.

BUT there is no Man, that hath his Faculties ſo equally balanc'd, or his Affections ſo juſtly poiſed, as that he doth not incline to one of the extremes of *Virtue* more, than to the other: Whoſoever then would walk in the middle path of a *good life*, muſt take particular care to avoid that Rock, upon which he is moſt apt to fall.

FOR when a Perſon skilful in *Phyſiognomy* was asked to give his judgment upon the natural temper of *Socrates*, and had declared him to be prone to Luſt and Senſuality; the Company about him grew angry, and

Socrates *his great Maſtery over himſelf.*

and young *Alcibiades* brake out into a Laughter: But *Socrates* replied, that the Opinion of the Man was right; for ſuch indeed he confeſſed he *was by Nature*, but by *aſſiduous* care and *pains* he had corrected thoſe Inclinations. So much the more induſtrious ought we to be in watching over our own natural Diſpoſitions, not only becauſe we ſlide very faſt and eaſily into *Vice*, where we find our ſelves ſtrongly inclined to it; but becauſe we are apt to offend on the other Hand, and pronounce our ſelves *virtuous*, when there is little or no cauſe ſo to do.

HENCE it is, that many Men, as *Nazianzen* obſerves, attribute that unto *Grace*, which is indeed due to *Nature*; For a man, who by his natural diſpoſition is Phlegmatick and Cold, ſoon flatters himſelf with an Opinion of Chaſtity; whereas in truth his Conſtitution doth not miniſter to him ſuch luſtful Heats, as are found in others of a more Sanguine Complexion: where the flame of Luſt or Anger breaketh out, and other potent Allurements to *evil* make their Aſſaults, there is the trial of *Virtue*; For what commendation is it to ſtand upright and unſhaken, where no Reſiſtance is made: In fair and calm Weather an ordinary Pilot may ſteer

Some things aſcribed to Grace, which are due to Nature.

ſteer the Ship; but he acts the part of a skilful Mariner, who can govern the Helm and hold his Courſe, when the Seas work, the Winds are high, and the Tempeſt ſtrong. So it is with *Virtue* iu *Human Life*; She muſt rule all thoſe Paſſions that raiſe ſo many Tumults in our Veins, and then ſhe is moſt glorious, when ſhe prevails, where the Temptations are moſt powerful; theſe Victories are not to be gotten by the Starts and Sallies of the Mind, but by a reſolute and conſtant Habit: For it deſerves much more praiſe to lead an *unblameable life* by our own ſtudy and labour, thau to be ſo by our natural Condition. Wherefore upon diſcovery of our ſelves, where we find Paſſion ſtrongeſt and moſt apt to be inflamed, there is the greateſt occaſion for the exerciſe of *Virtue*, to ſubdue its outrage and to make it an Inſtrument of *doing well*. Laſtly, There is one Rule or rather Counſel more, given by *Ariſtotle*, and it is this; That in all the Negotiations of Life we take heed eſpecially, how we do admit, as Counſellours, *our Pleaſure* or our *Pain*: For Pleaſures ſollicit only unto Vice, and Pains deter us from *Virtue*: the former we ought to be as ſuſpicious of, as the *Trojans* were of *Helena*, when they ſaw, how handſom ſhe

The danger of Pleaſure.

ſhe was; they preſently began to think it better to ſend her home, than ſuffer their Country to be deſtroyed for her ſake: No leſs hazard do we run in yielding to Pleaſures; which for the moſt part begin *in Folly*, *grow up in trouble*, and *conclude in ſhame*: For when we ſtep out of the way of *Virtue*; if we aim at *Mirth*, that will preſently end in *Grief*; if *Ambition*, then we are killed with *Affronts*; if it be Luſt, then it wounds us with the loſs of our *good name*: In ſhort, Pleaſures of all kinds wear the diſguiſe of Beauty and Lovelineſs; like the Harlot in the *Proverbs*, they entice with wanton Kiſſes; as ſhe decks her Bed with the covering of Tapeſtry and perfumes her Houſe; but all this while 'tis the Road to Hell, and leads to the Chambers of Death: ſo whoriſh and impudent is the face of *pleaſure*; it makes uſe of looſe Geſtures, ſmooth and Amorous Addreſſes to draw in the unwary Sinner; all this while ſhe is but a *painted Snake*, which is no ſooner taken into the Boſom, but the fatal ſting appears; it ſtrikes and wounds with an everlaſting Venom, and beſides the deadly gaſhes it makes in the Conſciences of Men, it infects all the preſent Joys of *humane Life*. In the right Government therefore of our Actions it behoves us not

to

to ſtoop for ſuch *golden Apples*, that are caſt in the way to hinder our work: That great Sophiſt *Leontinus Georgias* arrived in good health to an hundred and eight Years of Age, and being asked, *What Cordial that was, which had preſerved him in health to ſo great an Age?* anſwered, οὐδὲν οὐδεπώποτε ἡδονῆς ἕνεκα ἐποίησε, *quod nihil unquam voluptatis gratiâ fecerat:* So great a preſerver of *Life* and *Health*, and of all the good things conſequent thereupon is abſtinence from Pleaſures, from the Exceſſes of Eating and Drinking: for He that eats too much, dozes away his Life, turns his over-charged Body into a Statue of *Earth*, and ſeems to live in a continual Lethargy; He, who drinks to Exceſs, drenches his Brains in unwholſom Clouds of moiſture, and waſhes away the principles of *common Reaſon* and *Diſcretion*: He, that is lacivious, is puniſh'd for it with noiſom Diſtempers, and the peace of his *Mind* is quite deſtroyed by *mad* and *ungovernable deſires.*

HITHERTO we have diſcourſed of ſuch matters, as concern all *Virtues* in General, it remains, that we explain the Nature of them in particular. The Ancients were wont to divide *Virtues* into Cardinal or Principal, and *Virtues* leſs principal: The Cardinal *Virtues* they accounted to be four,

Pru-

Prudence, *Fortitude*, *Temperance*, and *Juſtice*; becauſe, as they thought, all others of an inferiour Order, as *Magnanimity*, *Magnificence*, *Liberality*, &c. were reducible unto theſe Four.

BUT we need not tie our ſelves up to the ſtrict Rules of Method, becauſe it is not of any moment upon what peculiar *Virtue* we diſcourſe firſt: We will therefore follow *Ariſtotle*, and begin with

FORTITUDE.

HARDINESS becomes Virtue, and it ſhews it ſelf then moſt illuſtrious, when it atchieves difficult Things: Now no *Virtue* pretends to this more than *Fortitude*; which incites us to undergo all manner of dangers and Death it ſelf for our Liberty, our Country or Religion. Therefore we give it the name of *Virtue*, as *Æneas* doth in that Inſtruction to his Son *Aſcanius*

Fortitude deſpiſes Dangers and Death.

Diſce puer virtutem ex me verumque laborem,
Fortunam ex aliis.

Tho

Tho perhaps it is no Paſſion, becauſe a Man may have it, who doth nothing; neither is it an Habit, becauſe he may be born with Courage; it muſt then be a power of the Soul, placed chiefly in the ſenſitive Appetite, becauſe it depends much upon the Heats of Blood, and is common to all Creatures: But *Tully* tells us, *Fortitudo eſt viri propria virtus*; it moſt properly belongs to and becomes a Man beſt; wherefore by the *Greeks* it is called ἀνδρεία. Which Courage (to convince you, how much it is purely Mechanical) may proceed in ſome meaſure from the temper of Air, may be form'd by Diſcipline, and acquired by Uſe, or infuſed by Opinion; But that which is more natural, and ſo more National in ſome Countries, than in others, ſeems to ariſe from the heat or ſtrength of Spirits about the Heart, which may a great deal depend upon the meaſure and the ſubſtance of the Food Men are uſed to: This made a Phyſician once ſay, He would make any Man a Coward with ſix weeks Dieting; For this Reaſon, the *Engliſh* having their Bellies full of Beef; have been eſteemed moſt fit for any bold and deſperate Action: This alſo may be a reaſon, why the Gentry in all places of the World, are braver than the Peaſantry, whoſe Hearts

A Courage may be ſometimes Mechanical.

Hearts are depreſſed not only by Slavery, but ſhort and heartleſs Food, the effect of their poverty: This is a Cauſe, why the Yeomanry of *England* are generally Stouter than in other Countries, becauſe by the Conſtitution of the Kingdom they live eaſier as to Rents and Taxes; by the plenty thereof they fare better, than thoſe of their Rank in any other Nation: Their Chief, and indeed conſtant Food being of Fleſh; And among all Creatures, both Birds and Beaſts, we ſhall ſtill find thoſe, that feed upon Fleſh, to be the fierce and the bold; and on the contrary the fearful and faint-hearted to feed upon Graſs, and upon Plants. Thus the veins of Courage ſeem to run like veins of Good Earth in a Country: And ſome People are ſo far from having a firm and conſtant Valour in them, that I can compare them to nothing better, than the Scare-Crows, Children make of ſtraw, wherewith they ſtuff empty Cloaths, they look like Men, but they have no ἀνδρείαν, no true *fortitude* in them.

Secondly, THE Actions of this Virtue are moſt ſplendid and great: therefore they were always aſcribed to the *Demy-gods* by the Ancients; and *Moſes* attributes *Fortitude* to God himſelf, when he ſaith, *Jehovah*

is a *God of War*, and commonly ſtileth him the *Lord of Hoſts*. Now all Virtues are to be defined by thoſe Objects, about which they are converſant, and by the Actions which they perform: By which Rule we may define *Fortitude* to be that Virtue, which teacheth us to moderate our *Fears* and our *Confidence*; at what time and place to encounter Dangers and Difficulties; when and where to decline and avoid them; eſpecially if there be any fear or hazard of Death, according to the Doctrine of *Ariſtotle*, of all things the moſt terrible and ghaſtly. The Courage therefore of a valiant and wiſe Man is chiefly ſeen in running the Riſque of War, and all the miſchiefs, that follow upon it, for his Countrey, for his Religion, for his Liberty: As for all matters of leſs importance, it is as eminent a part of *Fortitude*, to *fear Death* and *fly Dangers* as it is to *undertake* and *engage* them. The Extremes oppoſed to this Virtue on one hand are *Raſhneſs*, *Fury*, and the like; on the other ſide are oppoſite *timorouſneſs* and want of *Spirit*. When he deſcribes the Object of this Virtue, *Ariſtotle* miſtakes himſelf many ways; in overvaluing ſome things, as *Life* and *Liberty*; which are of no price in compariſon

Fortitude defined.

riſon with the *fear of God*, or the Care of Religion, which he either did not regard, or knew nothing of it. As for *Life*, the *Stoicks* have delivered better Precepts concerning it, when they tell us, *non eſt magna res vivere*, and conſequently, *non eſt magna res mori*; tho, in regard of Death, ſo great a proviſion is to be made againſt it, as they believed, ſo many Circumſtances of *Inſenſibility* and *hardineſs of Mind* are urged, and all its Forces are muſtered together, that they ſeem to have conſented with *Ariſtotle* in making Death to be the moſt *dreadful thing imaginable*.

Honeſty and Integrity the moſt valuable things.

FOR if common *Honeſty* and *Integrity* be valued, as it ought to be, the meaneſt part of it, is more precious, than all the poſſeſſions of this World, and will much overballance the Torments of Death; and rather than we ſhould ſuffer the leaſt part of our *Integrity* to fall to the ground, we ought to venture upon all Perils whatſoever. And it is worth our obſerving, that there is no paſſion in the mind of Man ſo weak, but it maſters the fear of Death; Revenge triumphs over it; Love ſlights it; Honour aſpires after it; Grief flies to it; Nay pity the tendereſt of them all, provoked many of *Otho*'s Followers to die in

compaſſion to their Emperour, who had ſlain himſelf; and *Seneca* adds, *mori velle, non tantum Fortis, aut miſer, ſed etiam faſtidioſus poteſt*, A Man would die, tho he were neither Valiant, nor miſerable, only upon a wearineſs to do the ſame thing, ſo oft over and over. But then it is eaſieſt to leave this World, when we have ſuch expectations of a happier State, as the Chriſtian Faith gives us; they, who are ſtrangers to theſe hopes, fear Death, as Children are afraid to go in the dark; and as that natural Fear in Children, is increaſed with *Tales*, ſo is the other with the Conceits of *Philoſophers*.

Secondly, THE *Peripatetick* extols *Liberty* as the Object of *Fortitude*: This hath been very much cryed up by the *Ethnick* Wiſemen, and likewiſe by miſtake among ſome Chriſtians, ſuch as the *Gnoſtieks* in the Apoſtles times, who were ſo far from being Valiant in the maintenance of their Faith, that they pleaded their Chriſtian Liberty on the behalf of their cowardly Revolts from it in the time of Perſecution: And ſome Errours of another kind about Liberty, have been the cauſe of Wars and Murders, of Bloudſhed and Rebellions, as much as any other thing whatſoever. Saint *Paul*, who

who certainly underſtood the Nature, and the price of Liberty much better, than *Ariſtotle*, left us this Rule; Art *Thou called a Slave* (for ſo I rather render the word δοῦλος) care not for it; that thing which Men contend for ſo hotly, He doth not think it worth regarding: ſo far was the Apoſtle from eſteeming it at that rate, as that under pretence thereof Wars might be raiſed, Robberies and all manner of Villanies committed, and all to preſerve that, which no Man ever knew, what is is, and no Man ever yet had it: For if by this word we mean, τὴν ἐξουσίαν τῆς αὐτοπραγίας, the licentious power of doing what we liſt, it is neither poſſible for Men living in Society to have it, neither if it were poſſible, were it either ſafe or fit. For a Meteor therefore of the Brain, a Fiction, and a thing of naught to raiſe ſuch ſtirs in the World, to ſpill ſo much Bloud, and to hazard ſo many Souls, muſt needs be an horrible attempt, and whoſoever they be that do it, their *Judgment* ſleeps not. Without any farther Debate then, we do aſſert, that the true Object of *Fortitude* is Danger, and it is the duty of a Valiant Man, who muſt be a good Man, to behave himſelf without terrour; yet ſo that he be ſenſible, it behoves him ſome-

The true Object of Fortitude Danger.

times to *fear*; For to be altogether without Fear, is rather to be furious and *mad*, than *valiant*; and to be fool-hardy, or needlesly to precipitate our selves upon Dangers, is the grosseſt Folly that may be; and no Vice is more to be dreaded, or gives plainer signs of a very corrupt Heart, than the want of this Fear, when there is just occasion for it: And no other end ought a Man to propose to himself, than *common Honesty* and *right Reason*, neither ought he to fear any thing but *Turpitude* and *Dishonesty*.

Now because there are sundry things, which abuse us, and carry a shew of *Fortitude*, yet have not the true reason of it; we will see what they are: The first is called by *Aristotle*, *Politick* or *legal Fortitude*, when Men for fear of the Law, and the punishments of it, or for hope of Reward, from the desire of Honour, or to avoid Disgrace, put *on a seeming Fortitude:* whereas real Valour doth brave and great things *ex officio*, as I may so say, out of Conscience only that it is our duty so to act, and not out of fear of any Command or Injunction: To this Notion may be applied that famous Story of the *Athenians*, who desiring much to discover the true reason of the stoutness of the *Spartans*, sent a Wise and Sagacious Gentle-

How the Valour of the Spartans *was tried.*

Gentleman to them, under the Guiſe of an Ambaſſadour, but in truth to ſpy out the *Spartan* Diſcipline, and make report of it at his return: Being thus diſpatched, He made very cloſe Remarks upon their Cuſtoms and Manners; And when he came back, at a full Aſſembly of the People and Senate met together, He cauſed to be brought before them, *Halters*, *Whips*, *Gibbets*, *Racks*, and *other Engines* of Torture; thereby intimating, that the *Fear* of theſe made the *Spartans* Valiant, and not any regard they had for *Right*, *Virtue*, or *Conſcience*.

To this we may add very pertinently ſome other Reaſons, that move Men to perform deſperate Acts rather than Valiant. So a Soldier in *Lucullus* his Army, who had loſt his Purſe, and being called to Fight, behaved himſelf bravely, and got the day againſt the Enemy; but being taken notice of by his Captain, as a ſtout Fellow, and commanded to do a piece of Service, in which he muſt needs run ſome evident danger, he deſired to be excuſed, and ſaid, *eat, qui Zonam perdidit*; He had found his Purſe, and meant to ſleep in a whole Skin: Another of this way of Life, *being ſickly*, expreſſed much Courage in daring and adventuring upon any hard Enterprize: His Cap-

A Man may do deſperate Actions, and not be Valiant.

tain in Compaſſion to his infirmities commits him to the Phyſician; and by this means being reſtored to perfect Health, he is no longer the man he was, but bore back when Danger was ſeen, ſaying, he now knew, that Life was ſweet, which before he did not eſteem ſo. More inſtances might be given of men, whoſe Profeſſion is the Exerciſe of Courage, but theſe may ſuffice to ſhew, that the Fortitude which we call Politick, comes ſhort of the true Valour, which we account a Virtue.

A ſecond Mock-Fortitude is that, which is gained by much experience, and may be named *experiential Fortitude*: And this Fable may explain to us what experience is; it is of one, who pretended to have been miraculouſly cured of Blindneſs, wherewith he was born, by St. *Alban*, or *ſome other Saint* at the Town of St. *Albans*; and that the *Duke* of *Glouceſter* being there, to be ſatisfied of the truth of the Miracle, asked the man, What *Colour* is this? who by anſwering it was *green*, diſcovered himſelf and was puniſhed for a Counterfeit; for though, by his ſight newly received, he might diſtinguiſh between *green* and *red*, and all other Colours as well as any one elſe; yet he could not poſſibly know at firſt which of

of them was called *green* or *red*, or by any other Name: by this we may underſtand, there be two kinds of Knowledge whereof the one is nothing elſe but *Senſe*; the other is called *Science* or the Knowledge of the Truth of Propoſitions and how things are called: Both of theſe ſorts are but *experience*. Now this *experience* in a valiant Man, makes him ready and apt to lay hold of any occaſion, that ſhall provoke him to fight; whereas men that are not *experienced* are commonly fearful; or if they are by chance daring and bold, they are for the moſt part unfortunate, by reaſon of their Miſtake in Time and Place, and other Circumſtances, which *well experienc'd* men do know: Wherefore of Fortitude upon Experience and Education the *Switzers* are a pregnantexample, who being trained up to the practices of War, have made it a *Trade of Life*; they are every man's Money, and let the Cauſe be what it will, good or bad, it is no part of their Care, ſo their Wages be duly paid them; ſuch men are commonly fit for ſervice, but being *Mercenaries* they many times fail, and *change* their parties upon change of *Hire*: like the *Gladiators* of old *Rome*, they make no Conſcience where they fight, but fight they

Experience neceſſary in a valiant man.

they will, only becauſe *neceſſity* or *hire* exacts it of them.

A third kind of Seeming Courage, is that, which ariſes from Anger: Now Courage in a large ſignification, is the abſence of Fear in the preſence of any Evil whatſoever; but in a ſtrict and more common meaning it is contempt of Wounds and Death, when they oppoſe a Man in the way to his End; therefore Anger or ſudden Courage is nothing but the Appetite or Deſire of overcoming preſent Oppoſition: But it being, as I have called it, a ſudden Paſſion, it is wont to incite men and caſt them improvidently upon dangers: there goes a common Saying, and it paſſeth for *Ariſtotles*, That, *Ira eſt fortitudinis Cos*: But it is more likely, that he, who knew ſo well the uſe of good Reaſon would not commit the ſharpening of Fortitude; to ſo harſh an Inſtrument; but rather do by Fortitude, when it needs ſharpening, as Barbers do by their Raſors, pour Oyl upon the Stone: For Reaſon is alone able to beget in us a true Fortitude, though Anger and Fury never interpoſe.

A Fourth kind of *ſeeming* Courage is valour upon Hope; when we undertake great matters upon Expectation of Victory, Honour, Glory, or ſuch like Vanities; for Hope

Hope is nothing but the Expectation of Good, as Fear is the Expectation of Evil; there are Cauſes alternately working in the mind, ſome that make us expect Good; and ſome that make us expect Evil; if the former prevail then the whole Paſſion is *Hope*, if the latter, then the whole is *Fear*: Now Hope is the greateſt Gheat to, and Abuſer of Men; for in this are founded all the vain, though ſpecious Attempts, which men have caſt themſelves upon; whether it be of the *Arena*, where the Gladiators ſported themſelves in the moſt bloody and cruel Exerciſes, for no other end but only Hope of Conqueſt, or whether it be any other gallant Madneſs and Vain-Glory, ſuch as reading of *Romances* may produce in puſil-animous men, as it did in *Don Quixotte*.

UNTO the ſame order of things we may add all thoſe famous Madneſſes and Furies ſo much ſung of, and celebrated by Proſe-Writers and Poets, I mean the *Olympian*, *Nemean*, *Pythian* and *Iſthmean* Games; wherein the choiceſt and faireſt young men tryed their utmoſt Strength to no purpoſe: For it is ſo noted, whoſoever won the Victory in the Olympian Games, were for ever after good for nothing: All the Sun and Duſt they ſo patiently endured, was only for

for a Crown of Bays; that they might not enter their Towns by the Gates or Common Paſſages but be carried home upon mens Shoulders: Were it worth our while to conſider theſe things, it would ſtrike us into an Amazement, to ſee, what Honour hath ever been done to mere Trifles, to things utterly of no uſe, and that for ſo many Hundred Years ſpace, from Thirty Years or thereabouts before the Building of *Rome*, until almoſt the expiration of that Empire, with a general Applauſe and Concourſe of almoſt the whole World: Upon this have we grounded all our books and monuments of Learning, which concern our Epochaes and Dates of time, as it were to bear Witneſs againſt our ſelves, how vain we are by making and framing our memorials by thoſe things, that were the greateſt Follies, that ever were.

The Olympian Games great Follies.

But this may repreſent to us the Nature of Mankind; and ſhew us by what ſprings they are moved; how the little hopes of empty Honour or Profit will drive 'em into the moſt hazardous Attempts; how eaſily they ſwallow the moſt bitter Pills, when they are gilt over; how ambitiouſly they hunt after the Troubles of greatneſs, and baſely adore the fine and gawdy nothings of this Life.

Honour and Profit drive men upon the greateſt Hazards.

One

ONE kind of falſe Fortitude ſtill remains, and that is Courage *upon ignorance*, when through want of Experience and Knowledg we ruſh unadviſedly upon the Swords point, and walk upon the very edge of a Precipice: For that of *Thucydides* is moſt certain, ἀμαθία μὲν θρασος, λογισμὸς δὲ ὄκνον φέρει, Ignorance and Unexperience makes men bold and foolhardy, but good Advice is naturally ſlow-placed: Thus it is commonly obſerved, that your freſh-water Soldiers go to the Battel, as chearfully as if they went to a Wedding, but as ſoon as they ſee their own Blood, their Hearts fail them. Something allied is this Valour upon *Ignorance* with that upon *Hope*; for therefore do men run upon Danger, becauſe they have a Hope to ſpeed well, and come off without Harm: For as ſoon as the Danger, which they knew not, begins to appear in its own Colours, their Conſtancy leaves them, and none more readily run away: The Men of *Argos* waging Warr with the *Sicyonians*, and beating them often it happened that the *Syconians* entertained the *Spartans* for help who coming into the Field, in Habit and Furniture like the *Syconians*, whilſt they were undiſcovered, the People of *Argos* fought ſtoutly,

ſtoutly, as againſt their accuſtomed Enemies, but as ſoon as they percieved they were *Spartans*, without more adoe, they fled.

MANY more things might be ſaid by way of farther opening the Nature of Fortitude, but we will ſhut up all with this one Concluſion, that it is not Hope, nor Anger, nor Reward, nor any thing elſe, but only the conſideration of the *Goodneſs and Lawfulneſs of the Cauſe, that warrants men to be valiant*: elſe Thieves and Robbers might be accounted ſo, whoſe Courage is like Zeal and Learning in a Heretick, wholly bent upon doing Miſchief; elſe raſh and unadviſed Perſons, and ſuch as palliate their Luſt under the name of Love, and every one that is carried on by the ſtrength and violence of any Paſſion whatſoever, may be eſteemed men of true Courage and Fortitude: *Nam impetu quodam & inſtinctu currere ad Mortem, commune cum multis, deliberare verò & cauſas ejus expendere, utque ſuaſerit Ratio, vitæ mortiſque conſilium ſuſcipere vel ponere, ingentis animi eſt.* *

The Lawfulneſs of the Cauſe warrants men to be valiant.

* For it is a common thing with many to run headlong to Death, through a certain inſtinct and violence of Nature; but it is the part of a wiſe & great Soul to deliberate well and weigh the Cauſes of it; then as Reaſon ſhall perſwade, to take up or lay down the Intent either of Life or Death.

YET after all if we look into a Chriſtian man as he is propoſed to us in the Goſpel, we may juſtly wonder, to what purpoſe God hath planted in us this Faculty and Paſſion of Courage; ſince the Characters of

of a Christian are *Patience*, *Humility* and *Gentleness*, which Virtues are to possess the Room of Anger and Resentment, that stirs up Fortitude; why else are we to obey the Precepts of suffering Wrong rather than go to Law; of yielding the Coat to him who would take the Cloak? But there are two Cases among Christians, wherein Bloodshed is allowed; first, in case of Justice, when a Malefactor dyes for his Crime; secondly, in case of publick War and defence of our Country or our selves; for the Christian Religion is no Enemy to it: Therefore *John* the Baptist instead of advising the Soldier to lay aside his Weapons as unlawful, instructs him rather in his Calling, not to wrong any place by Pillage, nor to mutiny in dislike of his Pay: These being the two principal Vices of a Soldier, which the Preacher of Repentance wouldhave him avoid. *Christianity not opposite to Military Discipline.*

To shut up this point; we must not be too prodigal of Life, nor trifle it away upon every Occasion; but we must freely expose it, when we truly know upon what Occasion to *spare*, or upon what to *spend* it: a *violent* Lust, an *ungovernable* Rage, heightned by Provocation, or enflamed by the *Spirit* of *Wine*, may so furnish out a *Hector*, to a *Duel*, and prompt him on to dye,

as

as a *Fool* dieth: But the Foundation of great and *Heroical* performances, the juſt and rational, the conſiderate and ſedate, the conſtant, perpetual and uniform Contempt of Death in all the Shapes thereof, is only derived from the *Chriſtian Principle*; this inſpires *Paſſive Valour*, and furniſhes invincible Martyrs for the Stake; this excites *Active Courage* and fits out undaunted Soldiers, and *Generals* for the Field: For hereby we know *where*, and *when* and in what Caſes to offer our ſelves to *dye*, which is a thing of greater Skill, than many of them ſuppoſe, who are moſt forward to do it: bruitiſhly to run upon, and haſten unto death, is a thing that many can do, as we ſee Beaſts oftentimes ruſh upon the Spears of ſuch as purſue them: But *wiſely* to look into, and *weigh every* Occaſion; and as *Judgment* and true *Diſcretion* ſhall direct, ſo to entertain a Reſolution either of Life or Death, this is true and *real Fortitude.*

Chriſtian Principles the beſt Foundation of courageous performances.

Of TEMPERANCE.

IN the Catalogue of Virtues we have given the higheſt Seat to *Fortitude* accordiug to Truth, peradventure we might have

Truth peradventure we might have given the precedency to *Temperance*, as being the Ground and Foundation, or as the *Greeks* call her, Ταμιεῖον τ ἀρετῆς, the Storehouſe of all Virtues. In outward Shew and Glory *Fortitude* outſhines the reſt; But that which enables and prepares us for all Moral Good, is in reality *Temperance*; upon this, as upon a ſure Baſis, the whole Building of of a good Life is erected; therefore it is very properly called σωφροσύνη, as being that, which preſerves our Wits entire, and all whatſoever fits us for prudent or regular Actions. *Temperance prepares us for all Moral Good.*

Firſt, By the way, we are to underſtand, that *Temperance* and *Continence*, which is a part of it, is by Moraliſts taken in a larger ſignification: When a man hath been an old Offender, hath by long Cuſtom grown familiar with wicked Practices; inſomuch that he hath loſt, as it were, all ſenſe of Sinning, or is ſuch a man, as Divines ſay, is hardened; for Hardneſs of Heart, and being given over to a reprobate Senſe, in Divinity, is the ſame with this Senſeleſneſs or Loſs of feeling in Sin, we call ſuch a one *intemperate*, let his Vice be what it will. So the Man that is but a young Offender, he that ſins indeed but

with ſcruple and Reluctancy, him we call *incontinent*, let his Fault be what it will. In Liberality, he that gives, but ſore againſt his Will, we call an incontinent Giver; but ſuch a one, as laſheth out, and without any ſenſe or reaſon is unmeaſureably prodigal, we ſay, he gives *intemperately*.

THIS we note, that we may underſtand the Language of Moraliſts; otherwiſe *Temperance* is a peculiar Virtue, and hath its own peculiar Object: *Temperance* therefore is that Virtue, which teacheth us to keep a moderation in Meats and Drinks, which we call Abſtinence and Sobriety, contrary to which are Gluttony and Drunkenneſs: Σωκράτης ἐρωτηθεὶς τίνων δεῖ μάλιστα ἀπέχεσθαι; τῶν αἰσχρῶν & ἀδίκων, ἔφη ἡδονῶν; *Socrates* being asked from what things we ſhould chiefly abſtain; anſwered from all *filthy* and *unlawful Pleaſures*: there is a moderation therefore to be uſed in that delight, men take in the continuance of their *Species*, which we call Chaſtity; whoſe contrary is Luxury. All this we comprehend under the name of *Temperance*, which is in truth nothing elſe, but the Government of our *Touch* and *Taſte*.

NOW ſince every Virtue is converſant in the moderation of two Extremes; of the one

one of theſe we cannot doubt, it is ſo common, and ſo often met with; For who knows not Gluttony, and Drunkenneſs; they ſeek no *ſculking Holes*, but tho they are the moſt filthy and ſpotted Crimes, yet every day they dare appear in the face of the Sun. But of the other Extreme we have no Name; it being a thing ſo ſeldom ſeen for a Man to offend in the too ſparing uſe of Meat and Drinks; For few there are, that love to give themſelves away through refuſal of Meats and Drinks; or to do, as that young Man did, of whom *Ficinus* ſpeaks, who languiſhing of an unknown Diſtemper, and being at length told by a skilful Perſon, that there was no Remedy for him but *Marriage*, made choice rather to die, than to uſe the *Antidote*; whence it comes to paſs, that when we meet wtih ſuch a Perſon, we know not what to call him; ἀναίσθητον, a Stock, or a ſenſeleſs Man, one that hath loſt his Wits, or ſome ſuch Name, we give Him, who offends this way; He that is guilty of the Exceſs, is ſaid to be ἀκόλαστος, unreſtrained and let looſe to all Debauchery: For thoſe, that tranſgreſs in being tempted by Luſt, there is no better Cure, than Abſtinence; For it is a certain Rule, *ſine Cerere & Baccho friget*

Abſtinence the beſt Cure of Luſt.

friget Venus; give to the Body ſo much, as Nature requires, it will leave no matter for Superfluity.

FOR, ſuppoſe the Palat be entertained with all the dainties of the moſt witty and Artificial Luxury; yet can we taſte them, but by the meaſures of a Man, and when we have ſatisfied thoſe ſlender deſires, all that remains becomes as taſteleſs to us, as Dirt and Gravel: ſo that whatever is eaten or drank above what a man can relliſh, turns into Surfeits, loathing and uneaſineſs: For ſo long as he is confined to this ſhort Span, and hath but the wonted neceſſities of a Man, which are ſo ſoon and ſo eaſily provided for; he ſhould be as well pleaſed with the common ſupplies of God's Providence, as with the richeſt Banquets: For he, who is not content with Natures cheap and eaſie proviſions, runs a thouſand Riſques to get a needleſs Abundance, and to poſſeſs more than is requiſite to make him happy. For him therefore, whoſe Errour conſiſts in exceſſive uſe of Meats and Drinks, the Ancient *Monks* have preſcribed a Cure in this Verſe,

Præpropere, lautè, nimis, ardenter, ſtudioſè.

Firſt,

First, *Preproperè*, Make not too much haſte to your Diet, but expect the time and hour fit to eat.

Secondly, *Lautè*, Let not your Table be loaded with coſtly Diſhes, but let your Food be plain and ordinary.

Thirdly, *Nimis*, Not too much; for even dainty Diſhes touched but ſparingly, may well paſs for ſober Eating, but Bread and Water taken in Exceſs may be called *Gluttony*.

Fourthly, *Ardenter*, Not overhaſtily; for ſwallowing your Meals by gobbets makes hard digeſtion, and may bring Surfeits; therefore the Teeth were given and contrived to mince and grind your Meat ſmall, ſo as to eaſe the labour of Concoction.

Fifthly, *Studioſè*, Be not curious in making *high* and *luſcious Sauces*, which provoke the languiſhing Appetite, and create a new Stomach, after it hath been well ſatisfied, which is very deſtructive of Health; but to riſe from Table with an Appetite not fully allayed, above all things conduces to ſoundneſs of Body and long Life. For if the Stomach be ſtretched beyond its natural Tone and true extent, it will require to

The danger of provoking the Appetite too much, after it is well ſatisfied.

be filled, but will never digeſt, what it receives: Whereas He, that lives temperately, needs not ſtudy the *wholeſomneſs* of this Meat, nor the *pleaſantneſs* of that Sauce; the punctilio's of Air, Heat, Cold, Exerciſe or Lodging; Nor is he *critical* in *Cookery*, but takes thankfully what God is pleaſed to give him.

But againſt all this, that hath hitherto been alledged, two bad Cuſtoms are kept up and maintained.

THE firſt is Solemn and chargeable Feaſting.

THE ſecond is immoderate Luſt.

Feaſting an Enemy to this Virtue.

FEASTING by long Uſage and the Cuſtoms of living looſely hath gained ſo highly againſt all Rules of *Temperance*, that on Sacred and Civil Occaſions it cannot now be omitted, nor reflected upon without giving offence to the greateſt part of Mankind: For if we look through all the ſolemn Acts, which paſs in the World, whether they be Civil *Meetings*, Congratulations, or *friendly Entertainments*; whether it be *ſadneſs* or *mourning* at Funerals, or *jollity* at Marriages; whether it be the Celebration of Commencements in the Univerſity, the Sacred Inſtallation of Biſhops, or the Inauguration into publick Offices, the principal

cipal part of all the Pomp and Buſineſs is the *Feaſt*. Indeed in Civil and Temporal matters this looſneſs might be tolerated; but in honour of the Saints, that the name of the Action ſhould be termed a *Feaſt*, is very improper: So that *Caſtruccio Caſtracano* being gently reproved by ſome of his Friends for his frequent Feaſting and Entertainments, had cauſe enough for Apology, when he anſwered, If Feaſting were not a good thing, men would not ſo much honour God and the Saints with it; But much better Counſel is given by St. *Hierom*, if we could take it, when he tells us, *Stultum eſt nimiâ ſaturitate honorare velle Martyrem, quem conſtat Deo placuiſſe jejuniis:* it is a fooliſh thing for men to think, they honour a Martyr by *feaſting* on his Feſtival, who in his life-time pleaſed God chiefly by his *faſtings*. Unto all theſe holy Gormondizings *Sacrifice* it ſelf may ſeem to have given the firſt occaſion; For what is a Sacrifice, if we truly deſcribe it, but a *merry Meeting*, and what was in old time more Celebrated, more extolled for Honour unto the Gods, than the *Cænæ Pontificiæ*; and ſuch were the *Lupercalia*, the *Eleuſinian* Myſteries; the *Feaſts* of *Bacchus*, *Flora*, & *Venus*; all which were but ſo many *Feſtivals*

ſtivals of Luſt and Debauchery, in which the Votaries imagined their Deities were pleaſed; as the Salvage and bloody Sacrifices, to *Saturn*, *Bellona*. *Moloch*, *Baal peor*, and all the other φείκτα μυστήρια of the ancient Paganiſm, ſuppoſed the Divine Being to take pleaſure in the miſeries and tortures of his Creatures.

Drunkenneſs the moſt filthy Vice.

AND to this Day *Intemperance* by publick Approbation hath gain'd upon all ſorts of men: Drunkenneſs is by every one declaimed againſt, and not without reaſon; For there are Vices, as *Montaigne* obſerves, wherein there is a *mixture* of *Knowledg*, *Diligence*, *Valour*, *Prudence*, *Dexterity* and *Cunning*; but this is altogether Brutiſh and earthly, and the dulleſt Nation in *Europe* is that, where it is moſt in Faſhion: But this Defence may be made for *this dull* Nation, as He is *pleaſed to call it*; that when Wine to hot Brains is like Oil to Fire, and makes the Spirits by too much lightneſs evaporate into Smoak and perfect, aiery imaginations, or by too much Heat to break out into Frenzies; yet this very Wine may improve the Abilities of cold Complexions, may be neceſſary to rouze ſleepy thoughts, and perhaps to animate the ſpirits of the Heart, as well as enliven thoſe of the Brain: Therefore

Therefore the old *Germans* ſeemed to have ſome reaſon in their Cuſtom, not to execute any great reſolutions, which had not been twice debated, and agreed to at ſeveral Aſſemblies, one in the Afternoon, and t'other in the Morning; becauſe they thought, their Counſels might want Vigour, when they *were ſober*, as well as Caution, when they had drank.

Drunkenneſs hath a very ill influence on the Mind.

But Drunkenneſs muſt be reckon'd a Vice, that hath a very ill influence upon the Soul; the *worſt condition* of Man being that, wherein he loſes *the knowledg* and *government* of himſelf: Notwithſtanding this Gluttony is a Vice far more, frequent and dangerous; For had Meats that *intoxicating* property which Drinks have, how many of our grave and ſerious Perſons, as they would be thought, ſhould we find hardly able to paſs the Streets! For Gluttony being the more ſecret and retired Vice, is generally practiſed with more ſecurity, but with no leſs guilt. In this Caſe therefore it will be of uſe to us to conſult the moſt excellent *Grotius*, and to hearken to his Cenſure of this Sin, who ſays, *aſſidua convivia, etiamſi abſit ebrietas, culpâ tamen non carent*, that daily Banquettings, tho no man be drunk in the Company, yet are very blameable.

Gluttony is alſo a dangerous fault.

THE

The Abuſe of Natural Luſt is the moſt pleaſing part of Intemperance.

THE ſecond and moſt hazardous, tho the moſt pleaſing part of Intemperance is the groſs abuſe of natural Luſt: It is ſomewhat difficult to extend the pleaſure of Drinking beyond Thirſt, and to faſhion in our Imaginations an Appetite *artificial* and againſt Nature: whereas the moſt regular and moſt perfect Mind hath but too much to do to keep it ſelf untainted from the follies of natural Luſt, from being overthrown by its own weakneſs on this ſide. For it is unavoidably planted in our Nature, made up with our Conſtitution, it is fomented and put into a flame upon every ſmall occaſion, and by *every ſpark* of a Temptation; it breaks out many times with that violence, that it is *a great part* of our *ſtrength and wit*, which ſerves to reſtrain it: The Providence of God hath kindled *that fire* in our Veins, as neither *Precepts of Virtue*, *Rules of Temperance*, *receſs* from *all Opportunities*, ſtrength of Youth, and ſcarcely the *weakneſs of* old Age can prevail to extinguiſh it.

WERE all the Offences of mankind amaſſed and heaped up together, at leaſt two thirds of them were accountable upon that ſcore: ſubmiſſion to the Will of God hath bounded our thoughts, and confined them

them within the limits of Humility; elſe we might juſtly expoſtulate and conteſt with the Divine Providence, which hath been pleaſed to ſubject mankind to ſo perpetual, to ſo importunate, ſo vexatious a trouble, and puniſh them afterwards for tranſgreſſing.

IT was a favourable and merry Conceit of a Cardinal of *Rome*, that there was no *Law beneath the Girdle*; but both he and we to our coſt ſhall find it otherwiſe: yet notwithſtanding all this ſo madly hath mankind been affected, that even the fineſt Wits and moſt commendable for Eloquence, moſt abounding with Precepts of Morality and Policy, and all Elegancy of Literature, have laboured to give *entertainment to, nay to improve this troubleſom Gueſt*. There hath for ſome hundred Years paſſed a ſort of Writings, which we call *Romances*, the ſubject whereof is the ſtrange Adventures, many Dangers, Fights, and wonderful Atchievements, which Knights Errants have undergone in purſuit of their *Miſtreſſes*; which Books are the greateſt fomenters of Folly, Luſt, and Idleneſs, that have appeared upon the Stage of Human madneſs. The Ancients (for this is no new Device) have proſecuted this part of *obſcene Story* under the

Romances the great fomenters of Luſt.

the name of *Fabulæ Mileſiæ*; and leſt perchance it might have fallen to the ground, ſome that have born the Chriſtian Name, have made themſelves *Panders* to publick Luſt, and by no meaner Authors, than Chriſtian Biſhops, have continued the courſe of theſe *Speculative* Luſts. The firſt that opened the way to this Wickedneſs was *Heliodorus*, whom in our time the famous Author *of the Arcadia* hath fully imitated, nay for Wit and Elegancy hath not much failed, if he hath not fully equalled him: For this reaſon ſome *Moraliſts* reſolve, that young Perſons muſt not be ſuffered to look into *laſcivious* Books, and ſome pieces of Poetry; becauſe tho they are fitteſt to learn Virtue by the Precepts of Morality; yet they are moſt apt by the Arts made uſe of in theſe Diſcourſes to be drawn into Vice, being ſet forth in the *moſt charming poſtures*, and in the moſt *taking colours*.

THE idle *Monks* have ſpent their time in furniſhing the World with abundance of this Traſh in all Languages; I forbear to mention any, becauſe I would not ſerve as an *Index* to others to make enquiry: I wiſh, the Authors of theſe Books had all acted like him, who made *Amadis de Gaul*, for he gave order at his death, that his Books ſhould

ſhould be burnt, as being conſcious of the miſchief they had done: upon which our Britiſh *Martial* hath left this Diſtich,

Si meruit pœnas, quod flammam accendat amoris,
Mergi, non uri debuit iſte Liber.

Howſoever it had been, whether by Burning or Drowning theſe Works had been aboliſh'd, it is not of much moment, ſo the World had been fairly rid of them: What hath been ſaid of *Cavaliero Marini*, who at his death left all his Bones to be *Glyſter-pipes*, that there were more things to be praiſed, and more to be condemned in his Works, than in any whatſoever; That may be affirmed of many of theſe *Mileſian* Impurities; for ſmart Wit, ſmooth Elegancy, pleaſant Conceits, and much fair Diſcourſe, have ſerved, as Salt for this inſipid Stuff, the better to excuſe, and draw it on: And where we meet with polite Language and quaint Inventions without one good moral Saying, thoſe compoſitions are wholly unprofitable; and beſides their uncleanneſs is many times ſo foul and ſhameleſs, that no modeſt Perſon can look into them; whence we may conclude, that *Feaſting* and *Romances* have been the two main Props, which have ſupported *Gluttony* and *Luſt* the

the two principal parts of Intemperance.

THE laſt of which doth this miſchief in the life of Man, that it is ſometimes like a *Syren*, tempting with amorous Addreſſes; ſometimes like a *Fury*, turbulent and ungovernable; for many luſtful perſons are ſo impatient of any Bridle, that they ſeem to think their *Girdles* and *Garters* to be Bonds and Shackles to them; But among all the Evils which the indulging of Luſt doth bring forth, the deſpiſing of Marriage is the moſt pernicious to Human Society: for certainly *Wife* and *Children* are, as my Lord *Bacon* obſerves, a *kind* of *Diſcipline* of *Humanity*.

The contempt of Marriage moſt pernicious to Society.

WE might inlarge our ſelves far more amply, ſhould we ſpeak of all thoſe things which by publick warrant plead for the ſin of Luſt under the ſoft and ſpecious Name of *Love*; which Paſſion, when once it can take Men off from their ſerious Affairs and Actions of Life, it troubleth their Fortunes, and makes them that they can no ways be true to their own ends. Something ſhould be ſaid concerning the abuſe of *Muſick* and *Dancing* to the ſame purpoſe: For excepting the practice of the former in our Devotions and religious Aſſemblies, moſt other uſes thereof are merely to be a *Bawd* to Luſt.

Muſick abuſed.

For

For if we look upon the Subjects of those Lessons, that are taught in the ordinary Education of Youth in this Art, we shall find, that there is scarce any Argument expressed, but what plainly tends to the spoiling their Manners; for either the Person boasts himself in the good success of his Love, or lamentably *bewails* the Coyness of his *Mistress*, or is profuse in the praises of her Beauty, which none commonly sees but himself, *Love* being the *Architect* of Beauty, or he runs out in description of the Symmetry of her parts, or despairs of ever enjoying his Wishes; These and the like *Fancies* full of languishing and flattery, are the usual entertainments in the practice of *Musick*.

As for *Dancing*, the Antiquity of it may make us think it a branch of the Law of Nature; which every Nation both Civil and Barbarous have expressed their mirth by, whereof so much may be safely learned, as may give a good and graceful motion to the Body. But the use now made of it, since it is become a difficult Study, serves only to *chaff* the Blood, and to set the Mind upon such pleasures, as will *corrupt* the very Being and *Essence* of all *Moral Virtues*. *Dancing very Ancient.*

SHOULD

SHOULD we prosecute farther this and the other like publick provocations unto Lust, it would appear unto most Men nothing else, but affected *Stoicism:* However ere we take leave of the Virtue of *Temperance*, it will not be amiss to speak something concerning the moderate use of *Sleep*.

Somne quies rerum, placidissime somne Deorum.

IF then it be so sweet, it must belong to our Sense; it were improper to attribute it to the Touch or Taste; for no Man could ever tell us of what Taste it is, yet certainly it belongs to all the Senses. For in the definition thereof we say it is *ligatio sensuum externorum*, a binding of the outward Senses by reason of the ascent of vapours from the Stomack or otherwise, by which the passages from the Heart or the Brain are obstructed, and cannot give a supply of Spirits to the outward Senses: as for the inward Senses of the Mind they suffer not by *Sleep*, which is the privation of the Act of Sense, the Power remaining, which is evident in the case of *Dreams*, when the Brain is as it were benumm'd, and having not its motion in every part alike, its Thoughts appear like the Stars between the flying Clouds, not in the order, which a Man would chuse

chuſe to obſerve them, but as the uncertain flight of broken Clouds permits.

Now the Natural end of *Sleep* is the refreſhing of our ſtrength when it is exhauſted; we therefore uſually ſay, that it is *Sleep*, which to make one part of our lives profitable, makes the other unprofitable; wherefore our King *Alfred* divided the whole νυχθήμερον into three parts, *eight hours* he allotted *for Study* and Buſineſs, *eight* for *Eating* and Recreations, and as many for *Sleep*: So that moderate Sleep takes up one third part of our life: which moderation of Sleep can appertain to no other Virtue, than to that, which is the Moderator of all ſenſual Pleaſures, *Temperance:* And we have great reaſon to follow moderation in this Matter; For as nothing doth reſtore us more to our ſelves, when we faint and are weary, than Sleep ſoberly taken, ſo nothing doth more ſtupifie, than its Exceſs: For this cauſe *Nirembergius* a witty *Jeſuit* is angry with *Sleep*, and ſhews ſuch a multitude of inconveniences that *Sleep* bringeth upon us; that had not *Sleep* the good Fortune to have befallen *Adam* in his *Innocency*, he would have gone near to have done as much for *Sleep*, as St. *Auguſtine* had done for Natural Luſt, and

The end of Sleep.

made it a ſecond part of Original Sin.

THEREFORE for the moderating this Virtue, the beſt Counſel I can give is that of *Hypocrates*, *Labor*, *Cibus*, *Somnus*, *Venus*, *omnia mediocria*; the words as they ſtand in place, ſo they are in order of Nature; *Labour*, to procure Appetite, *Meat*, to *ſatisfie* it, *Sleep*, to help Digeſtion, and *Venus*, to eaſe the Body of Superfluities.

ALL that we have ſaid, not only of *Temperance*, but of *Fortitude*, is briefly ſumm'd up by *Epictetus* in theſe two words, *Suſtine & Abſtine*; Theſe virtues are abſolutely neceſſary, all the reſt are ſo but upon occaſion, and for the moſt part are rather the *beautifyings*, or the outward Ornaments of a virtuous Life.

Of LIBERALITY.

FOLLOWING *Ariſtotles's* Method, the next *Virtue* we are to Diſcourſe of, is *Liberality*, whoſe two Extreams are ἀσωτία & ἀνελευθερία, that is, *Avarice*: The Definition thereof is drawn from the Object about which it is converſant, that is *Money*: for *Liberality* is that decent meane, which we

we are to use in *giving* or *receiving*, in *spending*, or laying *up* of *Riches*: by which we understand not only That, which ordinarily bears the name of *Money*, but all whatsoever may be purchased or had for Money, in what kind soever, as *Lands*, *Houses*, and *Cloaths*. In all these whoso desires more than is for necessity or for conveniency, offends against the Commands of this *Virtue*: The Humour or Passion, which this Virtue moderates, is Love of *Money*, a strange and unreasonable Passion, as being fix'd upon a matter, which of its self is of no use, save only that Men have agreed, that Money shall be the common measure of all things that are useful: And this Love of *Money* spoils all Liberality, as may be proved by several instances, which *Theophrastus* hath set down in his Character of ἀνελευθερία; which is περιουσία τὶς ἀφιλοκμίας δαπάνην φεύγουσα; to which, He says, *Liberality* is directly opposite, and is defined to be τὸ προεκκὸν χρημάτων εἰς τὰ ἐπαινετὰ. a Virtue easie and ready to lay out its Money upon all good and lawful occasions; when the want of *Liberality* makes Men stingy, that they grudg to be at the necessary Expences of Life.

Liberality moderates the love of Money.

Parsimony commended.

INDEED there is a sort of *Parsimony*, which we call a *Virtue*, as it is in the people of *Holland*, who are so industrious, that they are able to furnish infinite Luxury, which they never practice, and are so sparing, that they Traffick all the Year in pleasures, which they never taste: Thus they are rich and happy in a voluntary Poverty, whilst others are poor and wretched in their real Wealth; as all are, who have that Μικρολογία or littleness of Mind; which *Theophrastus* observes to be φιλοδωλία τοῦ διαφόρου ὑπὲρ τὸν καιρὸν, and this sordid *Parsimony* is admirably described by *Juvenal* in his Fourtenth *Satyr*,

Sunt quædam vitiorum elementa; his protinus illos
Imbuit, & cogit minimas ediscere sordes.

The use of Money a very beneficial Invention.

NOW, They who first ordained the use of *Money*, which some ascribe to *Abrahams*'s Father, were the Authors of a most useful Invention: For since Bartering, or change of Ware for Ware cannot be without much inconvenience, a fairer or more commodious way could not be provided to furnish our selves with all necessaries not only for Life, but for good Deeds, than *Money*; which consisting of Gold and Silver, things hard to be come by, not without tedious, and perilous

perilous Voyages to *Perú* and *Mexico*, and being alſo of eaſie carriage, is moſt adapted for Tranſportation, and daily uſe in Merchandize. Notwithſtanding this, ſuch a ſtrange, *unnatural paſſion* hath poſſeſſed the minds of Men, that it hath taken off our Affection and Love for other things, and fix'd it upon *Money*, which is only the means to procure all other things: This Paſſion hath begotten the moſt deformed Monſter among the brood of Vices, which is *Avarice*; for the Creature, it once bewitches, as the Poet tells us,

Avarice or the love of Money the moſt unnatural Paſſion.

Aſtat prolato jejunus venditor auro.

The Husbandman ready himſelf to ſtarve will ſell his Corn for Gold, and the Beggar, let him have but ſome ſmall piece of Coin, *ſicco concoquit ore famem*, will be content to ſhiver in his Rags, endure the biting of his Hunger rather, than lay out his Penny for a piece of Bread: A Humour this, as it is moſt unaccountable, ſo it is moſt dangerous. For whereas Vices are of two ſorts: ſome are intermittent, and take us as it were by Fits, as Gluttony, Luſt, Drunkenneſs, Anger and the like;

THESE by affording us ſome *lucid Intervals*, give us leave to bethink our ſelves of

There are two ſorts of Vices.

of what we have done, and by this means produce Repentance: But there are others without any *intermiſſion*, and keep us as it were in a *continual* Fit; ſuch are *Ambition*, *Malice*,. and that which we now ſpeak of, *Love of Money*, or *Covetouſneſs*; theſe never allow us time to reflect, but continually preſs upon us, and leave no *room* for a *ſober* or a relenting Thought: For it hath been ſcarce ever heard of, that any *malicious*, *ambitious*, or *covetous* Perſon did ever *return* by *repentance*, but died in his ſin. That which by abuſe we commonly call *Love*, and which hath been the cauſe of much miſchief, hath found at length ſomewhat to qualifie its too great warmth, either *Time or Buſineſs:* But nothing can ſtop the violent workings of this Humour; *Buſineſs* encreaſeth it, as being that, which is chiefly occaſion'd by this *Amor ſceleratus habendi:* Old Age doth not diminiſh it; For we ſee, that it is almoſt the property of old Men, to doat upon their Wealth, as knowing how eaſie 'tis to loſe, and hard to get: And it hath been obſerved, that many Perſons have been hardly brought to make their *Wills*, becauſe they could not well brook theſe words, *I give*; which words are in a manner the very Eſſence and Form of *Liberality*.

We

WE have therefore great reaſon to be eſpecially watchful over our Minds, that they do not ſink into a niggardly or covetous temper; not that He is of that temper, who ſpends leſs, than He hath coming in, nor He who can thrive by Prices, upon which the lazy and expenſive cannot live; But He is to be condemned for it, who breaks out into Fraud, Rapine, and Oppreſſion for the ſake of multiplying his Heaps; who with conſtant aſſiduity and application of mind purſues the queſt of *Riches*, and never thinks of being liberal to any one; yet a little to comfort and encourage the covetous Perſon, we are to underſtand, that the virtue of *Liberality* is as well ſeen in *receiving* as in *giving*; according as it is deſigned to be a Virtue moderating our *Receipts*, as well as our *Gifts*; And He, who is not careful of his layings up, as well as of his Expences, ſhall quickly find, that his Liberality will have an end. *A covetous Temper is to be avoided above all things.*

MANY Reaſons are brought by *Ariſtotle* to prove, what needs not, that Liberality is ſeen more in *giving*, than in *receiving*: But we muſt know, that the Receiving, which ſo much commends the Liberal Perſon, conſiſts not in the receiving of Be-

nefits from thoſe, that can give them; For this is indeed but a kind of Baſeneſs, but in the honeſt improving of our Stock, of our Thrift and all our opportunities of lawful Gain, of our Revenues, good Husbandry, and Merchandize. For this is the moſt proper foundation of all Liberality to make the beſt uſe of all juſt means of gaining, that ſo we may have ability of expending upon convenient and neceſſary occaſions, either of rewarding ſuch Perſons, as deſerve well, or of relieving the Neceſſitous.

How Liberality and Frugality are one.

THERE is a Virtue, which we call *Frugality*, whoſe peculiar praiſe conſiſteth, in ſaving Charges, and in laying up: The truth is, *Liberality* and *Frugality* are but one Virtue; for without *frugality Liberality* is but *profuſeneſs*, and without Liberality *frugality* is but *Avarice*; onely this difference there is, that Liberality is ſeen in *giving*, Frugality in *ſaving*, and both theſe do concur to make up the Virtue, we now ſpeak of: By the way we muſt obſerve, that *Frugality* ſometimes ſignifies all Virtues: according to which acceptation we ſpeak, when we ſay, *Hominem frugi omnia rectè facere*: and *eſſe frugi*, was in *Tully*'s opinion a Virtue becoming a King.

Hi-

HITHERTO we have ſpoken of thoſe parts, which conſtitute the very Eſſence of *Liberality*; it now remains, that we conſider ſome material Circumſtances, which are principally to be obſerved in Giving.

The end of Giving.

First, THE End, why we give, and This ſhould be nothing elſe, but τὸ καλὸν, *pulchrum & honeſtum*; whatſoever is juſt, honeſt, and Creditable: Whence we may infer that thoſe Men are not to be accounted Liberal, who give for Oſtentation, or to gain Fame and Glory; nor thoſe who bribe Judges and Advocates, that Juſtice may be perverted, nor thoſe, who aim at High Honours and Places of greateſt Power, as *Tiberius Gracchus* and *Julius Cæſar* did, who abuſed theſe great Virtues *dandi, ſublevandi, ignoſcendi*, as the Hiſtorian relates, that He might by any means ſecure to himſelf the Supreme Dominion; nor thoſe who raiſe a Profit from their Benefits, and put them out as it were to Uſe and turn their Liberality into a kind of *Traffick*; nor thoſe, who give to be rid of the importunity of Suitors, who by their boldneſs endeavour to extort Alms from timorous and eaſie-natur'd Men; But thoſe only merit the Character of *Liberal Perſons*, who are ready to reward the Virtuous,

Who are liberal Perſons.

tuous, and relieve the Neceſſitous; Seeing we are to temper our Beneficence by ſundry Circumſtances, in the firſt place as to Perſons, we may thus make our Liberality a part of Juſtice, by giving every Man, what *is fit*, and *what is due*: And here come in all virtuous Perſons; all induſtrious, indigent, and poor Labourers; all our decayed Kinsfolk, and all our well deſerving Friends; In ſhort, all that need us of what deſert ſoever they be: we are to reject the *craving* and *unſatisfied*, who are angry, if a drop of Charity fall beſides their private Fleece; the *diſſolute and riotous*, who are ſober perhaps and frugal, till they have earned a Sum to debauch withal; the Wanderours and Spyes, who dare not lead their unwarrantable lives in any fixed abode; the Irreligious and Profane, who never uſe the Name of *Chriſt*, but when they ask an Alms with it: Tho all theſe are to be paſſed by, and are not to be taken notice of by the Liberal Man; yet He is not with-held from doing good to all others within the verge of his Power; therefore his Bounty is not ſtinted to his own Family or Friends, to thoſe of his own Sect or Humour; but He is liberal to thoſe who have done evil to him, and may be preſumed ready to do more. Se-

Secondly, We are to consider the time, we are to give in, that we prolong not our Gift, nor torment the Receiver with expectation; For this cause our Liberality towards others must have respect to the Seasons of great Sickness and great Losses, to the scarceness both of Work and of Provisions: Therefore when a sober Young Man is sinking at the beginning of his Trade, we must lay hold of that opportunity to help him: If another be under an Arrest, we are by this Virtue engaged to deliver him in time; For so we may save him from perpetual Chains. *The time in which we are to give.*

Thirdly, The Circumstance of *place* must not be neglected; For sometimes we bestow Benefits in Honour of those, to whom we give them, and these must be done publickly; Sometimes they are given for the relief of Necessities, and these must be dispersed with all possible privacy: For many modest Men would willingly receive, but are ashamed to ask: Therefore the Man who is discreetly liberal, is very sparing toward those, who perpetually haunt the publick Streets and *Avenues* to Churches: but He looks for the needy actually in their miseries, or in their labour; there He conceiveth, He hath a fit place offered for the depositing his Alms. Fourth-

We muſt not be too profuſe, nor too ſparing.

Fourthly, WE are to conſider, how much we are to give, that we be not too profuſe, that we be not too ſparing: This we may call *due Meaſure* and *proportion*, whereby our Liberal Deeds are fitted to the *needs* of the Receiver, and to the *abilities* of the Giver.

TOUCHING the *needs* of the Receiver, *Liberality* doth not always limit it ſelf to mere Neceſſity; but in Perſons, whoſe Fortunes are by loſs and accident declining, it hath reſpect to Decency, conſidering how great the fall is from *Riches* to *Poverty*; And in Men, who cannot ſupport life, but with the continual ſweat of their Brows, it pitieth the heavineſs of their Yoke and contributes ſomewhat towards the eaſe of Humane Nature.

TOUCHING the *ability* of the Giver; This Duty doth not require of all Men the ſame proportion, ſome may afford a *twentieth*, and others a *thirtieth* part: For before we go about any Charitable Work, we ſhould conſider the quantity of what we poſſeſs; how much is required for the ſupporting us in the condition of our Birth, our Place, our Office, our Family, and for the diſcharge of our Obligations; for whoſe Fortunes are intangled, *an hundredth* part for Liberality may be

be over measure. But S. *Augustine* says *Regnum cœlorum tantùm valet, quantùm habueris*; every man's Faculties is the price of the Kingdom of Heaven; the same we may say, in all cases, of this Virtue of Liberality; it is valued at the price *of what we have*, not *at what we have not*; so that out of *much*, we are to give *much*; out of *little* to give proportionably; for no man is too poor to be liberal. Nay he, who gives out of a little, in the Opinion both of God and good Men, is far more acceptable than he who gives much out of a greater store: we read, when a great and wealthy Gentleman had presented himself to the Oracle with a pompous and costly Sacrifice; he would needs know how grateful this was to God; and he received no other Answer but this,

Ἀλλὰ μοὶ εὖ ἀδὲ χόνδρος τ' ἀγακλύτου Ἑρμιονῆος.

How was I pleased with that poor Handful of the most excellent Hermioneus!

Now this was a poor man who approaching the Oracle to Worship, offered nothing else but a small piece of *Leaven* and *Salt*. Thus the Devil, where he did bear the *Person* of a God, knew very well how to act his Part; for in the Judgment of our Saviour

Saviour, who beſt underſtood how to *value* things, the poor Widows Mite amounted to more than all the Offerings of the wealthy.

The Quality of the Gift muſt be conſidered.

Fifthly, WE muſt conſider the quality of the Benefit we beſtow; how well it befits the *Receiver*: For this Reaſon we are to give Cloaths to the naked, Food to the Hungry, Books to the uninſtructed, and Phyſick to the ſick: The ſame good Principle will find out *Workhouſes* for the poor, which is a double Charity; for at the ſame time diligence is encouraged, and a ſupply is adminiſtred. Wherefore it is a great part of Prudence to afford ſuitable Supplies to the neceſſities of Mankind, and not to cry out, the *Lord help them* only, when Bread is wanting.

IT was a King, who being asked a Penny by a Beggar, anſwered him that a Penny was too little for a King to give; and the poor Petitioner then asking him a Talent, the King replyed, that a Talent was too much for a Beggar to ask: Thus he baſely eſcaped the beſtowing a Gift. Yet thus much by this we learn, that our Benefits muſt befit the Receiver: For if a Madman ask a Sword, we muſt deny him; and if a Perſon in want ask Relief, we muſt give it,

it, becauſe our Gifts muſt be always beneficial to ſuch, as receive them.

Laſtly, We muſt take great care, with what mind we *give*, and above all we muſt be ſure, that we do it with a chearful Heart: For to give with difficulty and backwardneſs, is as it were to put Gravel into the Bread we diſtribute, and howſoever neceſſity forces the poor man to ſwallow it, yet it loſes all pleaſure in the Eating.

Above all things it principally concerns liberal men, to conſider warily from whom they do receive, and whence or from what means they give; For it is a like Theft to receive unlawfully, as unlawfully to give; which is very aptly expreſſed in that Proverbial Saying, *were there no Receivers there would be no Thieves.* In the Civil Wars of *Rome*, managed by *Sylla* and *Marius*, according to the manner of Thieviſh War, the Conqueror by Proclamation gave away the Houſes and Poſſeſſions of ſuch as were vanquiſhed: But (which was very remarkable) there was not one to be found, who would make an advantage of theſe Gifts, but all with one conſent *tanquàm à ſacris* abſtained and held their Hands, neither would they receive or touch any thing, that belonged to others,

We must not be too profuse, nor too sparing.

Fourthly, WE are to consider, how much we are to give, that we be not too profuse, that we be not too sparing: This we may call *due Measure* and *proportion*, whereby our Liberal Deeds are fitted to the *needs* of the Receiver, and to the *abilities* of the Giver.

TOUCHING the *needs* of the Receiver, *Liberality* doth not always limit it self to mere Necessity; but in Persons, whose Fortunes are by loss and accident declining, it hath respect to Decency, considering how great the fall is from *Riches* to *Poverty*; And in Men, who cannot support life, but with the continual sweat of their Brows, it pitieth the heavines of their Yoke and contributes somewhat towards the ease of Humane Nature.

TOUCHING the *ability* of the Giver; This Duty doth not require of all Men the same proportion, some may afford a *twentieth*, and others a *thirtieth* part: For before we go about any Charitable Work, we should consider the quantity of what we posses; how much is required for the supporting us in the condition of our Birth, our Place, our Office, our Family, and for the discharge of our Obligations; for whose Fortunes are intangled, *an hundredth* part for Liberality may be

be over measure. But S. *Augustine* says *Regnum cœlorum tantùm valet, quantùm habueris*; every man's Faculties is the price of the Kingdom of Heaven; the same we may say, in all cases, of this Virtue of Liberality; it is valued at the price *of what we have*, not *at what we have not*; so that out of *much*, we are to give *much*; out of *little* to give proportionably; for no man is too poor to be liberal. Nay he, who gives out of a little, in the Opinion both of God and good Men, is far more acceptable than he who gives much out of a greater store: we read, when a great and wealthy Gentleman had presented himself to the Oracle with a pompous and costly Sacrifice; he would needs know how grateful this was to God; and he received no other Answer but this,

Ἀλλὰ μοὶ εὖ ἀδὲ χόνδρος τ' ἀγακλύτου Ἑρμιονῆος.

How was I pleased with that poor Handful of the most excellent Hermioneus!

Now this was a poor man who approaching the Oracle to Worship, offered nothing else but a small piece of *Leaven* and *Salt*. Thus the Devil, where he did bear the *Person* of a God, knew very well how to act his Part; for in the Judgment of our Saviour

Saviour, who beſt underſtood how to *value* things, the poor Widows Mite amounted to more than all the Offerings of the wealthy.

The Quality of the Gift muſt be conſidered.

Fifthly, WE muſt conſider the quality of the Benefit we beſtow; how well it befits the *Receiver*: For this Reaſon we are to give Cloaths to the naked, Food to the Hungry, Books to the uninſtructed, and Phyſick to the ſick: The ſame good Principle will find out *Workhouſes* for the poor, which is a double Charity; for at the ſame time diligence is encouraged, and a ſupply is adminiſtred. Wherefore it is a great part of Prudence to afford ſuitable Supplies to the neceſſities of Mankind, and not to cry out, the *Lord help them* only, when Bread is wanting.

IT was a King, who being asked a Penny by a Beggar, anſwered him that a Penny was too little for a King to give; and the poor Petitioner then asking him a Talent, the King replyed, that a Talent was too much for a Beggar to ask: Thus he baſely eſcaped the beſtowing a Gift. Yet thus much by this we learn, that our Benefits muſt befit the Receiver: For if a Madman ask a Sword, we muſt deny him; and if a Perſon in want ask Relief, we muſt give it,

it, becauſe our Gifts muſt be always beneficial to ſuch, as receive them.

Laſtly, We muſt take great care, with what mind we *give*, and above all we muſt be ſure, that we do it with a chearful Heart: For to give with difficulty and backwardneſs, is as it were to put Gravel into the Bread we diſtribute, and howſoever neceſſity forces the poor man to ſwallow it, yet it loſes all pleaſure in the Eating.

Above all things it principally concerns liberal men, to conſider warily from whom they do receive, and whence or from what means they give; For it is a like Theft to receive unlawfully, as unlawfully to give; which is very aptly expreſſed in that Proverbial Saying, *were there no Receivers there would be no Thieves.* In the Civil Wars of *Rome*, managed by *Sylla* and *Marius*, according to the manner of Thieviſh War, the Conqueror by Proclamation gave away the Houſes and Poſſeſſions of ſuch as were vanquiſhed: But (which was very remarkable) there was not one to be found, who would make an advantage of theſe Gifts, but all with one conſent *tanquàm à ſacris* abſtained and held their Hands, neither would they receive or touch any thing, that belonged to others,

thers, as if they had been things conſecrated to the ſervice of the Gods.

WHERE ſhall ſome Chriſtians appear when theſe Actions of the Common People of *Rome* ſhall come to be examined; when without Scruple they take all things to be good purchaſe, which either their Malice or their Avarice tempt them to receive: This one Example ſhall put to ſhame and confuſion all thoſe, who have taken occaſion by War or Oppreſſion, by purloining and ſeizing upon the Poſſeſſions of the adverſe Party, to relieve their Beggary and baſe condition; the very Donations of *Sylla* and *Cæſar* are cenſured by thoſe that report them for rapacious and unjuſt, tho made under pretence of War; and doubtleſs, what is not lawful to give, is not lawful to be received.

Many other Circumſtances are to be obſerved in Giving; As,

Firſt, IN Giving we muſt be careful not to give of the meaneſt, or refuſe of what we have, but of the better Sort, and ſuch as may be uſeful: For he that gives of the worſt, and reſerves the beſt, hath more regard of himſelf, than of him to whom he gives; whereas a man truly liberal regards not himſelf ſo much as he doth him

to

to whom he is beneficial. For the manner of God's Bounty to us ſhould ſhew us the way, how we ſhould be bountiful to others; for God daily loads us with his Benefits; He perpetually crowns us with Loving-kindneſs and tender Mercies: Now the return we are to make for all theſe Favours, for our Health, for our Reaſon, for all the Accommodations of our Bodies, is only to help our poor Neighbour with a little Gold or Silver.

Secondly, NOT the Greatneſs of the Benefit, but the Ability of the Giver is that which commends the Gift; as in the Caſe of the *Rich Man's* Offering and the *Poor Widow's* in the Goſpel; the former gave out of his abundance, which was not in the leaſt diminiſhed by it; the latter gave all, and that with a willing Mind, which did enhance the value of her Gift much above that of the Rich Man.

Thirdly, 'TIS obſervable that ſuch Perſons, who eaſily, as by Gift or by Inheritance attain to what they have, ſeem to be more liberal, than ſuch, who by their Labor and Induſtry have compaſſed their Wealth: For the firſt of theſe never tryed what Poverty was, never knew the price of a Penny; and hence it comes to paſs,

that they ſo eaſily part with it; whereas thoſe, who hardly gain with great and continual Labour, what they have, are commonly more tenacious, becauſe things gotten with the Sweat of the Brow are held moſt pretious, and conſequently are not ſo readily given away: This makes the *Trader* frugal in ordering his Mony and Expences; this makes him ſo cautious in Buying and Selling, whereby his Mind is inur'd to a great piece of Wiſdom, to eſteem and compare one thing with another, to judg and value not only things neceſſary for the preſent, but all others alſo; for the *Grounds* and Principles of Judgment and Diſcretion are the ſame, though the *Subjects*, whereupon they are exerciſed are diverſe: This doth alſo make him orderly and temperate in his Dyet, careful of his Health and Life; while the *Gentleman* is thought leſs cautious and prodigal of all theſe; he eats greedily and ſpends his Mony laviſhly, he ſuffers himſelf to be overreach'd and thinks he is generous, when he is fool'd by the meaneſt and unworthieſt of the People, impudent *Pedlars*, or flattering *Hoſts*. But it is quite otherwiſe, where Men have and make uſe of the parts God hath given them; they are liberal, but

it

it is with Diſcretion, and they are frugal, but without the leaſt ſuſpicion of Avarice.

WHEREFORE now we ſhould conſider a little the Nature of theſe two Vices, that are oppoſite to Liberality, Prodigality and Covetouſneſs. The Nature of which Vices is ſufficiently diſcovered, by that, which we have ſaid of the Virtue, Liberality, only this remark ſhould be made, that the Object of Liberality being twofold, *giving* and *receiving*, the oppoſite Vices have parted theſe two betwixt them; the one being converſant in immoderate Giving, the other in immoderate ſaving or taking: If we compare theſe Vices ſo as to diſcover which is the worſt, and of the blackeſt dye, we muſt conclude, that Avarice doth far go beyond Prodigality in unprofitableneſs and miſchief: For all the time the covetous man lives, he is but like a Heap of Dung, which doth no good at all whilſt it lies together; by Death indeed his Wealth is ſpread abroad into many hands, and ſo it falls out to relieve the neceſſities, and to ſupply thoſe, who, out of a vertuous Intention, are well diſpoſed to do good to others: This may be the Reaſon why the Prodigal are pityed and bemoaned but the Covetous are never thought on without Deteſtation and

Avarice is more unprofitable, and worſe than Prodigality.

Hatred: For other vitious Inclinations combat Reaſon, and often baffle it, but ſeldom can ſo far vanquiſh it, as that a Man doth applaud himſelf in his Miſcarriages; but the covetous Humour ſeizeth on our Reaſon it ſelf, and ſeateth it ſelf therein, inducing it to countenance and abett, what is done amiſs: The voluptuous Man is ſwayed by the violence of his Appetite; but the Covetous are ſeduced by the dictates of their Judgments; therefore they hoard all, and will not be perſwaded to part with any thing, becauſe they eſteem Riches the beſt thing in the World, and then they judg themſelves moſt *wiſe*, when they are moſt *baſe*.

Theſe are eſpecially of two kinds.

THE Firſt are thoſe who fail only in *giving*, for whom no man is indeed the *worſe*; yet withal, ſuch they are as for whom no man is the *better*; they are in appearance exactly juſt and punctual in their Dealing, and will preciſely give every man his own; but withal they will require their own again with the utmoſt Rigour, without abating the leaſt point: Theſe men, as the World goes, paſs amongſt many for juſt, upright and honeſt perſons; yet to expreſs the badneſs of their Crime, we call

call them by ſundry evil Names, ſometimes φειδωλοὶ, Parſimonious, or γλισχροὶ Tenacious, to whoſe Fingers their Money is as it were glued and nailed; ſometimes they are called κίμβικες, *Sordid*, who for a ſmall gain will undergo any baſe Office; or they are κυμινοπρίσται, *Cumini Sectores*, who, that they may ſeem to do no injuſtice, will divide a Hair or the ſmalleſt things with you.

But if we would pleaſe God and act vertuouſly, we muſt demean our ſelves as *Job* did, *Job* 29. 11, *&c. deliver the poor that cry*, and *not grind his face*; help *the fatherleſs* and the *Widow*, not exact the utmoſt farthing, they owe; Thus the good *Publican* recommended himſelf to our Saviour; *Luke* 19. 8, 9. Behold, Lord, *Half of my goods I give to the poor*; Hence He was proclaimed a Son of *Abraham*, and Salvation came to his Houſe. So near to the Heart of Piety doth the Holy Scripture lay the practice of Liberality and Bounty; For no Man can be ſaid to be pious, unleſs they be well reported of for good Works; unleſs they have brought up Children, and lodged Strangers; unleſs they have relieved the *afflicted* and *have diligently followed* every good Deed.

Vſurers and Gameſters cenſur'd.

Secondly, THERE is a ſecond ſort of Covetous Men, who offend not only in not *giving*, but in exceſſive *taking*, be it right or wrong; They will take that, which belongs to other men without any reſpect to common Juſtice; Such as theſe are *Vſurers*, and all that make gain of ſordid and illiberal Arts, keepers of the *Stews*, and Gaming-Houſes: Such as enrich themſelves, and care not how they impoveriſh others, like that Lord, who would make his *Hedg go ſtrait*; Such as undo *whole Towns*, and rob *Churches*; for whom the Name of *Covetous Perſons* is too gentle and mean, we ought rather to call them *impious*, *unjuſt*, and *wicked*; for whom no ill Character is bad enough: Of all theſe great and Enormous Vices *Avarice* is the ground, and therefore not without cauſe did the Apoſtle call it the *Root of all Evil*. From whence Oppreſſion, Rapine, Injuſtice and all the moſt vitious humours do ariſe, that are the Diſeaſes, and predominant miſchiefs of the Mind; And the practices of covetous Perſons to ſober and good Men can ſeem no better, than that of the *Devil*, who goes about ſeeking, *whom* he may *deceive* and *devour*.

Of MAGNIFICENCE.

MAGNIFICENCE is but an Appendix to *Liberality*; For the Man, who by *Fortitude* hath baniſhed all Faintheartedneſs and Fear, who by *Temperance* hath ſubdued *Debauchery*, and by *Liberality* hath delivered himſelf from *Avarice*, the very ſink of Evil, He is ſo well qualified for a regular and good Life; that the reſt of the Virtues might rather have ſerved for Train and Attendance, than have required any diſtinct Diſcourſe to be made of them.

BUT ſince we have tied our ſelves to *Ariſtotle's* Order, We muſt be content to follow his ſteps, and treat of Virtues in ſuch a Method, as he hath ſet down.

MAGNIFICENCE then in the ſtricteſt Senſe of the Word, is a *Virtue*, that teaches us how to obſerve a *Decorum* in the managing of great and coſtly Expences. So that *Magnificence* goeth beyond the ability of an ordinary Perſon; Whether we conſider the means by which it worketh, or the Works themſelves, which it doth produce.

AS to the means by which it worketh, it is great ſtore of Wealth and Income; which if a virtuous Man hath, He will act according to his Character; that is, He will do all the good He can in the moſt ſplendid manner; Perhaps He will build *Colleges* for the breeding up of Youth in all kinds of Learning; And as it is pleaſant to ſee Sets of our own planting to grow and flouriſh; ſo it is a Work much more glorious, thus to build *up Men*, and from ſmall beginnings to ſee great numbers of Youth ſhoot up to Eminent Stations both in Church and State.

Building of Colleges a work of Magnificence.

HAD it not been for theſe *Magnificent Donations*, thoſe *Goths* and *Vandals, Enthuſiaſts* of all Denominations, would have long ſince brought ruin upon all the Methods of ſound Reaſoning; which have been kept up and encouraged by theſe Charitable Foundations: For when *Julian*'s Decree ſhut the Primitive Chriſtians out of their *Schools*, they thought it a Perſecution more fatal to the Church, than the open Cruelty of *Decius* or *Dioclesian*.

Secondly, HE will erect *Hoſpitals* for the Poor and Maimed; Now this ſort of *Magnificence* doth very much ſerve the Publick Intereſt; for thoſe who do theſe things for

Hoſpitals another work of Magnificence.

for the ſake of their own private Fancies, and not for the common Good, are Magnificent, as ſome of the Church of *Rome* are Charitable, when they erect Sanctuaries, for wilful and Capital Malefactors, to fly to; when they found ſuch Monaſteries, as are the Nurſeries of a blind Devotion: But to be *vertuouſly Magnificent*, is with daily Proviſions to feed the Hungry, not the *ſuperſtitious*, to entertain thoſe that are unfit for Labour, not loitering *Wanderers* or *Pilgrims*.

Thirdly, THE Man, who deſerves praiſe for his *Magnificence*, takes care to provide thoſe Houſes, in which the moſt notorious Offenders may either be corrected or ſecured; that thoſe, who are not ſo far gone, in Wickedneſs, as to be paſt Remedy, may be called back again and amended by juſt and neceſſary Chaſtiſement; that thoſe who have broken through all the *Fences* of *Law*, may be taken out of Human Society, which they would otherwiſe deſtroy and bring into Confuſion.

HAPPY the miſerable, who partake of theſe Works of *Magnificence*; more happy they, who lay out their Money and Revenues for the publick benefit of Mankind; to inſtruct the ignorant *in Schools*, to heal

The good of Mankind promoted by this Virtue.

the

the *diſeaſed* in Hoſpitals, to *laſh the back of the* Sinner in Bridewells, and to *cure* the unſound mind in *Bethlem's*.

NOW the Works of *Magnificence*, whether they be publick, or whether they be private, they are to be performed with all *Pomp* and State; They are eſpecially ſeen in *Feaſts* and *Entertainments* either of our Friends, or of Men of the higheſt Quality; or elſe in building ſtately Houſes, Caſtles, Churches and Theatres: That Man, who knows how in the moſt ſeemly faſhion to manage theſe Undertakings, is truly *Magnificent*.

The Errours of ſuch as are Magnificent.

BUT here the *Magnificent* Perſon is very prone to run into a very ill Extreme; Having great things much in his thoughts, his mind is apt to fly too high, out of the reach of Prudence; then He falls to the building of *Obelikes*, *Coloſſus's*, and *Pyramids*: This Diſtemper ſwell'd the Heads of many in old time, who ſpent great Sums upon *magnificent Piles*, vaſt and *ſumptuous Statues*, great and mighty *Vanities*: For *Solomon*, the beſt Judg of theſe things, hath paſſed this Sentence upon them, that they are all ſo; For *Eccl.* 2. After He had *made great Works*, *planted Vineyards*, and *had built ſtately Houſes*; *made Pools of Water*

The Judgment of Solomon upon theſe Things.

ter for *the Trees*, that *bring forth Fruit*; *got large and numerous herds* of *great and ſmall Cattle*; *had gathered mighty heaps of Silver and Gold*, and *filled his Treaſury therewith*: upon *a review of all the works his Hands had wrought*, and *upon all the pains He had taken*, He *concludes with the trueſt judgment*, *that ever was pronounced upon the World*, that *all was Vanity*. Whereupon it may be ſuppoſed, my Lord *Bacon* made this wiſe Obſervation, that *Truth is a a naked and open Day-light*, which doth not ſhew the Masks and Triumphs of the World half ſo ſtately as Candle-lights do; and no man doubts, that if there were taken out of men's minds, *vain Opinions*, *flattering Hopes*, *falſe valuations* of Things, and the *imaginations* of *Grandeur*; but it would leave the minds of many, who make a great Figure, poor *ſhrivel'd* things, full of melancholy and indiſpoſition, and *unpleaſing* to themſelves.

BUT there is a way to lay up our Treaſure in Heaven; to be *magnificent* on Earth and *great* in Heaven; then this Bleſſedneſs muſt be gotten by doing ſuch remarkable deeds of Charity as I have mentioned; and if we do ſo, our Names ſhall endure for ever, when *Mauſoleum's* are buried and *Pyramids*

The deeds of Charity entitle us to Heaven.

ramids are mouldred into duſt. It is *Ariſtotle's* Notion in his Epiſtle to *Philip*, that the acts of *Beneficence* have ſomething in them *equal to* God, and the whole life of mankind was compriſed in conferring and returning Benefits: 'Tis true, there have been ſome moroſe Spirits, ſuch as *Chryſippus* and *Seneca*, who have made plauſible Harangues againſt *Glory*, but in the very doing this they have appeared to aim at it: Whereas it is the *ſpur* to good Works, if it be made uſe of by one who hath paſſed through the Temple of *Virtue*, to *that of Honour*; And a man may with as much reaſon argue againſt Eating and Drinking, as endeavour to baniſh the love of Glory, that ariſes from the Works of *Magnificence*: unleſs this did rouze the Souls of men, perhaps a barbarous Sloth, or a brutiſh ſtupidity would ſoon overſpread the World; no care would be taken to promote or ſuſtain the *Seats* of *ingenuous* Arts, or the *Tribunals* of State: This carries Men upon the nobleſt and moſt Heroick Attempts, and Human Nature without it would be a ſluggiſh and unactive thing.

IT was the Thirſt after Glory, together with ſome private Ambition, that incited the *Egyptian* Kings, to be at ſo vaſt charge

charge in the building the *Pyramids*, and the *Egyptians* of lower Quality ſpared for no coſt to cut out Caves or *Dormitories* in the *Lybian* Deſerts, which by the Chriſtians are now adays called the *Mummies:* and all this was undertaken for the ſake of an Opinion amongſt them, that ſo long as the Body endured, ſo long the Soul continued with it, not as animating it, but as unwilling to leave her former Habitation: Why ſhould not the ſame Thirſt for the Glory of the Chriſtian Religion move us to do ſuch Works *as may ſhine before Men, and glorifie our Father, which is in Heaven?*

IT is not empty *Fame*, that we muſt ſeek for; it is not with Wind that we muſt fill our ſelves; We want a more ſolid Subſtance to repair us; A man pinched with Hunger would be very unwiſe to ſeek rather to provide himſelf of a gay Dreſs, than a good Meal; We are to look after that, whereof we have moſt need, and that is *Virtue*; When this is acquired, then the outward Ornaments of *Magnificence* may be made uſe of: Which were ſo deſpiſed by *Epicurus*, that He made this one of the Precepts of his Sect, *Conceal thy Life*; He would not have his Diſciples in any ſort to govern their Actions by the common Reputation

Epicurus his opinion of Magnificence.

tation or vulgar Applauſe: But *Horace* was of another Opinion, who ſays,

Paulùm Sepultæ diſtat inertiæ
Celata virtus ——

Concealed Virtue differs not much from dead Sloth; which if it were abſolutely true, then a man would be no further concerned to keep his Mind in order, which is the true Seat of *Virtue*, than as the actions of it are to be ſeen by others: whereas Glory is but the ſhadow of true *Virtue*; For,

— *Repulſæ neſcia ſordidæ*
Intaminatis fulget honoribus;
Nec ſumit aut ponit ſecures,
Arbitrio popularis auræ.

Virtue, that never can be repulſed or trodden down, ſhines forth with untainted Honours; for it neither takes, nor lays down its Dignities at the pleaſure either of Ambition or Popularity.

OF all Virtues This of *Magnificence* is the moſt Courtly, the other of *Liberality* is rather for the Countrey; So that every Magnificent Perſon is Liberal, but every Liberal Perſon is not Magnificent. The Philoſopher gives us many Notes, by which we may know a Magnificent Perſon. Firſt,

First, THAT all our Acts of this kind be directed to ſome right or profitable End; that the publick good may be thereby advanced; The Soldier muſt not go to the Wars for the ſake of Spoil and Rapine, but to defend his Country; The Merchant muſt not adventure his Life and Fortune for the ſake of Lucre ſo much, as that He may maintain his Family comfortably, and be enabled to help the diſtreſſed; The Scholar muſt not bend his Studies ſo much after Speculative, as uſeful Knowledge; The Politician muſt not covet ſo greedily the *Titles* of Honour, as the ſatisfaction of an Innocent *Mind*.

Secondly, THAT they be not done in Oſtentation, or to get Acclamations; For no Wiſe man would depend upon the Voice of the Rabble for his Happineſs, the Mother of Inconſtancy, Injuſtice, and Ignorance; For if we follow the Reports and Applauſes of the Vulgar; We ſhall be always wavering, becauſe we forſake *Virtue*, and take *Fortune* to be our Guide. P. *Æmilius* therefore acted wiſely in his Expedition of *Macedonia*, when he charged the People in his abſence to make not the leaſt mention of his Actions; For *praiſe* indeed belongs to *Virtue*, but we are apt to be too fond

Magnificence Acts muſt not be done in Oſtentation.

fond of it, which *Perſius* hath hit upon, if I can *conſtrue* him right,

Laudari haud metuam; neque enim mihi cornea fibra eſt,
Sed recti finemque extremumque eſſe recuſo
Euge tuum, & bellè.——

My Heart is not ſo horny, but that I am ſenſible of Commendation and love it; yet I muſt deny this to be the only End of doing well, to hear others ſay, *O worthy Man! O noble Act!*

Thirdly, We muſt do ſuch Acts of *Magnificence*, as τὸ καλὸν, or common Honeſty requires, and that with a good and willing mind, without any ἀκριβολογία, or ſordid looking into every Account, which betrays a covetous and a ſneaking humour.

For the two Extremes of this Virtue are ἀπειροκαλία, or rather βαναυσία, a vain, fooliſh, and unprofitable profuſion of Extravagant Expences; Examples whereof may be brought both from private and publick Perſons; as for inſtance, the *Megarenſes* in their Tragedies, would have the entrance into their Theatre covered with Purple and coſtly Cloath; So *Alexander* the Great rewarded a ſtrong Drinker with a Talent of

of Gold, that is, with 125 Pounds weight in Gold.

THE other Extreme is Μικροπρέπεια, which ſignifies an indecent Parſimony in great Works, whereby the State and Grace of them is eclipſed; Now an inſtance of *Magnificence*, and of this ſort of *ſparing* we have in that Story of the *Athenians* and of *Phidias* the famous Statuary; the *Athenians* reſolving to erect a magnificent Statue to *Minerva*, conſulted with *Phidias* concerning the matter, of which it was to be framed, whether of Marble or Ivory: *Phidias* making choice of Marble, and adding his Reaſons, that it was more laſting and would retain its ſplendour a great while longer; His Maſters heard him with patience; but as ſoon as He began to tell them, it would alſo be Cheaper, they commanded him to hold his peace, as ſuppoſing the leaſt mention of *Thrift* in this caſe to *be unſeaſonable:* Here was *Magnificence* in the *Athenians*, but in *Phidias* poorneſs of Mind, that might become a private man, but not ſo publick a Work.

THUS the Expences of *Solomon* and *Juſtinian* are Patterns of *Magnificence*; But when we ſee *Licinus* a Barber in *Martial* giving orders to have a Stately Tomb of *The folly of profuſeneſs.*

Marble built for him at his Death, we laugh at the ridiculous Man for his profuſeneſs: For *Parſimony* though in private men it goes for a laudable Virtue, yet in the exerciſe of *Magnificence* it will hardly find any place: For how much the more honourable and wealthy any Man is, he is obliged to be bountiful and to give with the greater generoſity and largeneſs of Heart; it is expected, that He ſhould be of a more free and ingenuous Spirit, than others, without any tincture of a narrow Soul, or of baſeneſs; but He is ſtill caſting about in his thoughts, how to find the moſt fitting Objects for the moſt extended Bounty: ſuch a Bounty as may redound to the general benefit and good of mankind, in oppoſition to all thoſe little ſelfiſh Deſigns, which vile Perſons are addicted to: in oppoſition alſo to *Prodigality*, which hath this peculiar Folly belonging to it, that it takes care to deſtroy it ſelf.

MAGNA-

Of MAGNANIMITY.

WE come now to handle that which is the chiefeſt Virtue, the height and perfection of all the reſt, for ſo in truth is *Magnanimity*, if we conſider it aright, and not as *Ariſtotle* hath deſcribed it: There is a Virtue in Chriſtians, whereby they adorn their Profeſſion, which our Philoſopher either knew not, or he thought it not worth his notice: For Humility, which is indeed the greateſt part of *Magnanimity*, is ſo ſcurvily treated by him, as that it finds no place among the Virtues: none of the Philoſophers could diſcern its Excellency; becauſe they were a proud and ſelf-conceited Generation, and moſt of their Controverſies aroſe from their overvaluing their own Opinions.

Humility the greateſt Virtue of Chriſtians.

Now this pure, humble, undefiled Diſpoſition of Mind, by Nature we cannot pretend to, becauſe of the original Corruption of Nature; but by the Grace of God in the Goſpel, we may attain it, and it is the chief deſign of the Goſpel to direct us in the way to it. Although this Humility did generally paſs among the Philoſophers in the worſt ſenſe, for a poor ſpi-

rited, *pusilanimous* Virtue; yet it hath always had an extraordinary Preeminence, not only in Religion, but in the Judgment of all truly wise Men, and in all the best practice of civil Life: For even in this World, the *dark, reserved, crafty men* have fail'd of their Designs more than the plain, upright and honest men; because the crafty man has many Parts to play, many Minds to put on, many Faces to shift; so that it is almost impossible for him so to act all, as not to be discovered in some, and then he will be suspected in all; whereas the honest, lowly-minded man has but one part to perform, which is his own, and that far more easie for him to do, because he always Acts according to the plainness and simplicity of Nature.

The crafty men fail more in their Designs than the honest.

THIS Advantage comes by Humility in this life; but in relation to the other state no Virtue is of greater use and benefit; for nothing shews a nearer resemblance to the divine Nature, than a mind that is humble and undefiled; nothing manifests a greater Conformity to the divine Laws, than a life of Humility and Lowliness; nothing expresses that true and generous Disdain, which all true Christians have or should have of these earthly, transitory things; nothing

nothing declares a more magnanimous Confidence in the divine Providence: nothing a more ſubmiſſive Reſignation to the divine Will; nothing a more ſtedfaſt and aſſured Hope of future Happineſs; nothing can keep us ſafer from dangerous Miſtakes in all matters of our eternal concernment: For the humble and candid mind, of which a right Meaſure may ſooneſt be taken, is beſt prepared to take a right Meaſure of ſpiritual things; that meek and ſincere Diſpoſition, which leaſt of all deceivs others, is leaſt of all capable of being deceived itſelf, in the ways of everlaſting Salvation: Have not more bold, venturous, artificial Wits fallen into Errors, than they who have been content with the ſteddy, conſtant, and firm motion of meek and humble Chriſtians? For whilſt thoſe preſume all on themſelves, they truſt to the moſt fallible Guide; whilſt theſe wholly ſuſpect themſelves, and implore moſt the Grace of God, they never fail of a certain Aſſiſtance and Direction: And what has been generally the ſucceſs of both? The humble, teachable Temper of the one has produc'd many real Saints, the proud, preſumptuous, ſubtle Spirit of the other has prov'd a fruitful Soil for the Production of Hereticks and Atheiſts.

WE muſt therefore be *humble*, we ſhall not elſe ſucceed in our Hopes of a better Life; and if we reflect on the moſt polite Cuſtoms and Manners of this State we are in, nothing is truly graceful, that is over-mixed or unnaturally forced; no word we ſpeak, no Phraſe we uſe; no Geſture, no Tone of Voice, that is overartificial, but it preſently offends; nothing in Beauty, in Action, in Motion can pleaſe, that is affectedly laboured and over-adorn'd; nothing has ſo much reverence in human Converſation, as true Humility, manly Plainneſs, gentle Eaſineſs, undiſſembled Sincerity.

Two Chriſtian Virtues unknown to the Philoſophers.

FOR there are two things, which, in Nature or in Reaſon, ſeem to be of no Account; yet among Chriſtian Virtues they challenge the ſupreme place; one is our behaviour towards our Enemies, that we love them, and do them all the kindneſs we can, notwithſtanding they do us all the Wrong and Injury they are able: The other is our manner of Deportment in coveting Honours, and ſecular Greatneſs, in the deſire whereof *Ariſtotle* placeth his *Magnanimity*; but a greater than *Ariſtotle* hath placed Humility, which conſiſts in the contempt of theſe big Vanities, and hath caſhier'd them all under the *Pride* of Life.

FOR

FOR true Humility is the greateſt *Magnanimity*, and *Ariſtotle* himſelf hath by chance confeſſed as much; when in few words he deſcribes a magnanimous man to be him, ᾧ οὐδὲν μέγα, to whom nothing appears great; than which there could not be given a better Definition of an humble man: For as Stoutneſs of mind very welll agrees with Meekneſs, and therefore *Moſes*, who was indeed a Perſon of the moſt undaunted Courage, is ſaid in Scripture to be the meekeſt Man upon Earth; ſo when we have examined all Parties and tryed their Mettal, we ſhall find, that the moſt humble are really the moſt magnanimous; and to be tranſported with the love of Honour, Greatneſs, or the like Follies, tho *Ariſtotle* ſtood by and frown'd at us, we muſt call it Baſeneſs of mind or Puſilanimity; ſince to ſubmit to that which we ought to contemn, can deſerve no better a Title, no ſofter a Name.

BUT that we may throughly underſtand this Point, we will explain the Virtue of *Magnanimity* according to *Ariſtotle*'s Principles; and firſt he takes it for a Suppoſition, That Greatneſs is the Object of *Magnanimity*, and therefore he defines a magnanimous man to be a Perſon that thinks himſelf worthy of the greateſt things, and is

indeed ſo: For he who bears himſelf as worthy of great things, but is indeed not ſo, is a Fool, and one in whom Virtue hath no place.

THE two Vices which are oppoſite to this Virtue are on the one hand ἀμαθία, *Faſtus animi*; on the other Puſilanimity, or as *Ben. Johnſon* wittily expreſſed it, *whoſe Soul dwells in an Ally*; who peradventure deſerves well and knows it not, but with patience ſubmits himſelf to men of inferior Worth, and is near akin to the humble man; he hath a great reſemblance of him, though he may not be really ſo.

SINCE we have made the Object of *Magnanimity* to be greatneſs; thence it follows, That, that which is the greateſt and moſt valuable thing, is the chiefeſt Care of the magnanimous Perſon: Now the greateſt thing amongſt men is Honour; that Honour is ſo eſteem'd, is evident from our attributing it to God: For the greateſt Service we can do unto God is to honour him: Again, that which is moſt deſired by men of fair and free Condition, by men of Place and Dignity, is undoubtedly the greateſt good; but we ſee Honour by men of this kind to be moſt earneſtly courted: Hence it comes to paſs, that to men of higheſt merit,

merit, nothing is more welcome than Titles of Honour; such is that of a Duke, when he receives the Ring of Principality, like that of *Pharaoh* to *Joseph*, of *Abasuerus* to *Haman*, of *Alexander* to *Perdiccas*; such is that of an Earl, who had antiently the Government of a Province; so for Viscounts and Barons, who are less than the two former in largness of Territory, and in nearness to Sovereignty. Such is also the Title of Knights, who in the Northern parts of *Europe* were of the noble Rank, and were in their Youth armed as Martial Knights for the service of their Country; neither among the old *Germans* did any one bear Arms until he was honored with a Spear and Target in their State-Assemblys. *Honour highly valued among men.*

THESE Titles seem to be merely great and pompous names, and such as Princes can afford at the cheapest rate; yet these are those goodly things which best please brave-spirited men, and in these the Glory of a magnanimous man is especially conspicuous.

BUT since Honour is a thing subject unto Fortune, since it comes and goes as it pleaseth that blind Guide, we must search for some more lasting Greatness, whereon to fix

The Magnanimous seek after what is most Praise-worthy in every Virtue.

fix our Magnanimous man, and that is no less than the choicest, best and fairest piece of all the Virtues; look therefore what is the principal part, what is the supreme *Excellency*, what is *most Praise-worthy* in every Virtue, this is the Proper Object of *Magnanimity*: And that Verse in *Homer*, *Tully* was so much in love withal,

Ἄιεν ἀριστεύειν καὶ ὑπείροκον ἔμμεναι ἄλλων.

That is, in all things *to carry away the Bell*, and to go beyond all other men, is the proper Passion of the Magnanimous. δρέπειν κορυφὰς ἀρετᾶν ἀπὸ πασᾶν, as *Pindar* saith, to garble the Virtues, and cull out the prime parts of them, this is that, which makes up the great Virtue we speak of: For he, who yields to any the least Vice, who is so low-spirited and silly as to swallow its Baits, abates so much of Magnanimity.

Let us then, as *Aristotle* does, trace the man through some particulars in his Behaviour and Carriage:

First, IN all Fortunes good or bad he carries himself with singular Eqnanimity, neither puff'd up with Pride in Prosperity, nor broken or dejected with adverse Fortune; *sperat infestis, metuit secundis alteram sortem bene preparatum pectus*; he hath a mind

mind ſo well prepared againſt all the Changes of this Life, that Adverſity never puts him out of hope; nor Proſperity *makes him think*, that He *cannot* fall; By this means let the paſſions of men be never ſo fretful, He is never moved by them; Let the turns of the World be never ſo ſudden and wonderful, his *magnanimity* withſtands their Force, which in this inſtance is the moſt ſplendid and glorious part of *Fortitude.*

Secondly, IN encountring Dangers, He is not φιλοκίνδυνος, as it were in love with the Danger; like your *Bravoes* or *Hectors*, as we call them, that are eaſily hired to undertake a Quarrel: Such are in all States with great care to be ſuppreſſed, becauſe *qui ſuam vitam contempſit Dominus eſt alienæ*, having deſperately contemned his own, He makes himſelf Lord of the Lives of others. Theſe are the Men, who aſpire after a vain and falſe Glory; therefore in their Words always you will find Oſtentation and Inſolency in their Actions; Whereas the glory of the *Magnanimous* is ever juſt and well grounded; Hence it is, that they never go about any thing, but what they have power ſufficient to bring to paſs; They fly not to Fallacies or Tricks; are not

Vain-glory condemned.

prone

prone to Anger, nor to Boasting: They are never irresolute in their proceedings, because they are above those Difficulties, that make deliberations hard; neither will they be at Enmity with Inferiours, nor laugh at the infirmites of other men from any sense of Ability in themselves.

Thirdly, He is no medler in Alehouse Quarrels, nor in any inferiour Petts among Vulgar Persons; Whenever He is engaged, it is in such a War, as may bring in the Issue Praise and Honour; Such as upon which Justice and Equity attends; There He hath *par animo periculum*, encounters a danger equal to his mind; He puts no great value upon his own life, but is very well contented to lay it down, when it may be for his Countreys service or for his own Honour. And in all his Adventures He hath an Eye upon the good and conveniency of of that Party, whose Cause He undertakes, notwithstanding for the present his Fame and Credit do a little suffer: Thus *Fabius Maximus* refused to fight with *Hannibal*, till He was sure of his Advantage, notwithstanding the false and ill Reports which his Rivals did endeavour to spread of him; *non ponebat enim rumores ante salutem*; and in this matter did this Illustrious Com-

Commander behave himſelf with true *Magnanimity*: Quite contrary to this Action was that of *Callicratidas* the famous *Lacedæmonian* Captain, who being adviſed in a Council of War to avoid *engaging* the *Athenian Fleet*, did notwithſtanding run the hazard of fightingand ſo loſt the Day; for which he gave only this Reaſon, That the *Lacedæmonians* were able to provide another Navy, if they loſt this, but if He ſhould fly, his Honour could in no wiſe be redeemed; Thus a Punctilio of Honour caſt his Country into diſtreſs, and had well near ruined it.

THOSE, who wonld be thought the only *Heroes*, put a great value upon theſe Punctilio's, in defenſe whereof they are moved by very violent paſſions; but as ſoon as the ſtorm is over, they ſlacken inſenſibly of themſelves, if not to the loweſt degree, at leaſt ſo as to be no more the ſame perſons: Inſomuch that upon every triffle they ſhall be provoked to Wrath, and by as little a matter be cooled again; therefore we can never make a right judgment of a Man, unleſs we pry into his common Actions and ſurprize him in his every-day Habit: Philoſophical diſquiſitions do not ſo well unfold to us the Myſteries

steries of Human Nature, as our own Remarks would do upon the daily Conversation of Men; For their lives do seldom or never correspond with Speculative Doctrines: If therefore I behold a Man in the management of his Actions to demean himself *steddily*, and never to stop at any Impediment, that stands in his way to a good End; He is the *Magnanimous Man*, whom we enquire after. Some pains must be taken to bring the mind to so constant a Resolution; But when once it is confirmed, nothing shall discompose, nothing shall shake it: Therefore the best Season for the exercise of *Magnanimity*, is in the time of hardship and Affliction; when, as a Tree planted in Winter, it will thrive better, than in the warmth, or in the midst of those Delights, that are tasted in the Ages of Peace and Plenty: Nay, when Affairs are drawn to the very dregs of *Malice*, a Man fortified with this Virtue, will look upon all its Stings, as unpoisonous, though they are sharp; whatever severe Conflicts we may have with the thoughts of Death, the Feast of a good Conscience, and the Wall of a judicious Constancy will fence us against them: This is the greatest glory of a Christian to subdue the Burdens of Life, while

The best season for the exercise of Magnanimity.

while we are deprived of *health, liberty, power, ſafety, or Eſtate*; by the Virtue of *Magnanimity* all this may be done, which is the greateſt honour of our Lives, and the beſt improvement of our Deaths: We muſt acknowledg, it is not eaſie to contend with the many dangers, loſſes, diſappointments, and troubles we meet withal in this Life; yet this *Heroick greatneſs of Spirit* will ſo patiently ſuſtain them all, that they will afford much ſweetneſs at the laſt, and bring a Crown at the end of the Race.

The Magnanimous Man abhors Malice.

IF we conſider further, what this Virtue is in common Converſation, it will alſo appear in that kind very uſeful.

First, BECAUSE the Magnanimous man in his behaviour with others carries his love and his hatred openly and in his hand; For the cauſes of either of them being juſtifiable, he cares not, who ſees them; his Love He will not conceal, becauſe his Friend may not ſuſpect, that he hath any averſation to him; neither will he hide his Hatred or diſlike, becauſe the Soul thereby may be ſtained with the moſt venomous malice, as the Diſeaſes, that proceed from *Stoppings*, are the moſt miſchievous to the Body.

Secondly,

He hates Diſſimulation.

Secondly, He is no Diſſembler, he carries his Heart in his Tongue, and boldly ſpeaks the truth, when a juſt occaſion demands it, but always with diſcretion; For men's Ears are tender, and can hardly endure them, that are wont *mordaci radere vero*; therefore my Lord *Bacon* ſays, *It asketh a ſtrong Wit, and a ſtrong Heart, to know when to tell Truth, and to do it*; So that they are the weaker ſort of Politicians, who are the great Diſſemblers. But if a Man hath that piercing Judgment, which the Virtue we now treat of, will produce, He will diſcern, what things are to be laid open; what are to be kept ſecret, and what are to be ſhewed at half-lights, to whom and when; Theſe are the Arts of State, as *Tacitus* calls them, and theſe are the Arts of Life: But Nakedneſs is uncomly, as well in the Mind, as in the Body, and it addeth no ſmall reverence to men's Manners and Actions, if they be not altogether open: eſpecially the diſcovery of a man's ſelf, by the tracts and lines of his Countenance, is a great betraying, becauſe his Face is frequently more taken notice of and believed, than his Words: In ſhort, the *magnanimous Man* will never act the Hypocrite, becauſe it

it is a Vice, that riſes either from natural falſeneſs or fearfulneſs, whereby a man is deprived of one of the moſt principal Inſtruments for Action, which is *Truſt and Belief*.

Thirdly, He is not apt to wonder at every thing; For what can ſuch a one admire at, ὦ μηδὲν μέγα, to whom nothing appears great? Neither is He apt to remember Injuries, nor is he inclined to Revenge, but thinks, to *give*, and *to forgive, donare & condonare*, are the beſt and the worthieſt things in the World: Therefore *Solomon* ſaith, *It is the glory of a Man to paſs by an Offence*; For He is but even with his Enemy, when he takes his Revenge on him; but in paſſing the injury over or in pardoning it, He is Superiour to him: And thoſe Men are baſe and crafty Cowards, who are like the Arrow, that flies in the Dark; But the brave-ſpirited Man, who deals above-board with mankind, delights not ſo much in puniſhing the Party, that hath wronged him, as in making him repent.

Fourthly, He abhors that ſecret Spight, which we ſee to be in moſt men, whereby they make the good Names of others the ſubject of their Table-talk, miſreport

their Actions, and aggravate their miſtakes; or if they ſpeak well, they will be ſure to ſpoil it with ſome reſervation; Neither is He ὀλοφόρλοιος, querulous, or apt to complain; but makes that of *Otho* the Emperour his eſpecial Character, *de nemine queri:* For all humorous and peeviſh Perſons go aſtray out of the plain way of the Reaſon of mankind. But our virtuous Man is ever well ſatisfied with the government of Providence; therefore his thoughts are at reſt; and whilſt others are very free in their Jeers and ill Cenſures, He takes a wiſer courſe to ſuppreſs rather a piece of Wit or a fooliſh Paſſion, than do the leaſt hurt by venting it: Nay, there is ſo exact an order in his Life, that the very motions of his Body are decent and regular, not too ſwift, nor too ſlow, his Speech not too loud nor too ſoft: For the ſmalleſt things in this kind of Perſon, are well worth our Obſervation.

He is not querulous.

ONE of the Extremes of *Magnanimity* is χαυνότης, for which we have no Name either in *Latin* or Engliſh, unleſs we liſt to call it *Pride:* which is a fooliſh humour, ſome men have; who being of mean worth, have neither ſenſe nor power, yet will boaſt after the Spaniſh faſhion, as if they could

could do the greateſt things; like that Gentleman in *Rome* by name *Senecio*, whoſe fancy it was to have all things *Great*, *great Servants* to wait on him, *great Plate* to be ſerved in, a *great Woman* for his Concubine, *great outlandiſh Figs* for his Diet, and would always *ſpeak great Words*; for which Whimſey he got the Name of *Senecio Grandio*: This Man is a lively Emblem of the Vice, we now treat of, a fantaſtical Affectation of *Grandeur*: which is a ſwelling of the Mind, that holds nothing, but corrupt and putrid matter; which, if it be not let out, will infect the moſt hale Conſtitution, and the ſoundeſt temper of mind. *Affectation of Grandeur is ridiculous.*

As for that other Extreme *Puſillanimity*, I ſhall not ſay much of it nor run it down, as the Philoſophers do, for fear I ſhould put any the leaſt ſlur upon the moſt Excellent *Virtue* among Chriſtians, *Humility*.

Honours in *Ariſtotle*'s Opinion are the proper Object of *Magnanimity*; Now *Honours* are of two ſorts; greater Honours, which belong to the *Magnanimous*, and leſſer, the managing whereof belongs to a Virtue, for which he could find no Name; but ſome petty Virtue or other muſt be ſought for, whoſe duty it is to moderate

our desires after smaller Honours: Had *Aristotle* throughly considered the nature of this Virtue, he would have found as much Power in it for the managing *of petty honours*, as of *greater*; For when the *Thebans*, to put an Affront upon *Epaminondas*, that renowned Captain, had chosen him into a mean and base Office; *It behoves me*, saith he, *that I so execute the duty of this Place, that I may leave it one of the most honourable Posts in the Commonwealth*, and He was as good as his Word, It is not in the power of any Man to put himself into what Sphere of Authority he pleases, but whersoever He is employed, it is in his power so to behave himself therein, as to add Credit to it, and so by the Virtue of the Mind to make the managing of smaller Honours a part of *Magnanimity*: For Men of large Capacities and wise Thoughts bring a Reputation to whatsoever Place they bear; And when a Person of mean account had presented *Artaxerxes* with an Apple of extraordinary bigness, the King gave him this Commendation, Certainly, this Man, were He well employed, of a little City would make a great one.

Men of Virtue bring Credit to the Offices, they are in.

ONE of the Vices opposite to this Virtue is φιλοτιμία; Ambition, which is an humour,

Humour, that maketh men active and ſtirring, but very troubleſom and uneaſie to all about them; 'tis true, to forbid a Soldier the uſe of it, is to pull off his Spurs; but if it gets into the ruling Seat, it can never keep things ſteady; having not that Ballaſt of temperate and ſober Wiſdom, without which the Ship of the State will roul too much, and be in danger often of overſetting, becauſe the Counſel, that is to direct it, is too haſty and precipitate.

BUT our virtuous Man hath no other Ambition, but to prevail in great and good Things; He ſeeks to be Eminent only amongſt worthy Men; whereby He doth good to the Publick; But He, who plots to be the only Figure amongſt *Ciphers*, is the decay of an whole Age: Whereas *Honour* hath three things in it: 1. The Advantage-ground to do good; 2. The Approach to Kings; 3. The Raiſing of a Man's own Fortunes: He, that hath the beſt of theſe intentions, when He aſpireth, is an Honeſt Man, and one, whom we may call *Magnanimous*.

ANOTHER Vice oppoſite to this *Virtue* is called ἀφιλοτιμία, Contempt of *Honour*, which may very well paſs for a fault with them, who think *contemptu Famæ con-*

temni virtutes, that in the contempt of Fame Virtue it ſelf is ſlighted; as if it were not worth the while to be vertuous, unleſs it were *to get praiſe*; whereas Praiſe coming for the moſt part from the People, rather follows *vain Perſons, than vertuous*, becauſe the People perceive not at all the moſt excellent Virtues, but are led rather by ſhews: Therefore my Lord *Verulam* hath compared *Fame* to a River, which beareth up things light and ſwoln, but drowns things weighty and ſolid. Wherefore Men, who have true Virtue, can be content to do well, without an eye to Praiſe or Honour, *rectique facti non ex populi ſermone mercedem, ſed ex Facto petunt*; When they do a good deed, they do not ſeek their reward from the ſpeech of the People, but from the merit of the Fact it ſelf: For among all the pleaſures, that were found out by wiſe and conſidering men among the Heathen, none are ſaid to be greater, than thoſe, that did commonly ſpring from the practice *of Moral Virtue*; Now, if we will believe their Hiſtories, were there any ſorer griefs, than thoſe, that did ariſe from the *practice of Vice:* And which is yet more conſiderable, the better and the wiſer any man is ſaid to be, the more earneſt deſires and hopes hath

Praiſe doth not always accompany Virtue.

hath he after ſuch a ſtate of Happineſs, as Virtue only can produce; Neither is there any record of the moſt obſtinately wicked, who with their utmoſt endeavours have applyed themſelves to the ſuppreſſing the Notions of Goodneſs, that they could ſo wholly ſtiffle them, but that they would be continually riſing in their minds: which is a manifeſt proof, that they have in them a natural congruity to the Soul, never to be rooted out; ſo powerful, ſo unconquerable are the impreſſions of *Virtue*.

The notions of Goodneſs moſt agreeable to the Mind.

Of MEEKNESS *or gentleneſs of* SPIRIT.

FROM the conſideration of ſuch Virtues, as give the greateſt luſtre, ſhew, and State to Mens Lives, we come to treat of thoſe, which in common Converſation make Men dear, and welcome to one another; in the Van whereof is *Meekneſs* or *gentleneſs* of *Spirit*, as being one of the firſt and chiefeſt of them.

BY this Virtue we are taught to moderate our *Anger*, and all peeviſh, ſullen, and

fierce Humours, or whatever else is contained in the irascible part of our Souls; For there is in us by Nature a *Heat*, which if we do not diligently watch and keep under, will spoil all our Conversation, undermine the peace of our Lives, make us injurious and unsufferable to our Brethren.

Anger let loose, is Fury.

THIS *Heat* we call *Anger*; which becomes *Fury*, when it is unbridled and let loose; and if we neglect it, or suffer it to prevail, it ends in Madness.

First, IT is sudden, and fires us, ere we be aware; Hence it is, that we find so few Men *satis tutos adversus iram subitam*, well enough guarded against the assaults of sudden Anger, and to seek to extinguish all the sparks thereof utterly, is but a *bravery* of the *Stoicks*.

Secondly, IT is violent, and gives no way to Consultation; Hence arises the Question in the Schools, Whether of the two, Anger or Lust, is more easily withstood? Might we have some *Tiresias*, some Man well experienced in them both, He would doubtless give his vote for *Anger*: For Shame and Company always repress Lust, and make men for the practice of it to fly into Corners, and strive as much as may

may be, to be unſeen: But ſudden Anger reveres or ſtands in awe of no Man, lays hold of every thing for a Weapon, and what lies in it, doth harm to the utmoſt: Therefore *Claudius* the Emperour, for that he was conſcious to himſelf of his being ſubject both *iræ & iracundiæ*, that is, both to ſudden Wrath, and Wrath continued, excuſed himſelf for both theſe by publick Proclamation, and made a ſolemn promiſe, that one of them ſhould be ſhort and harmleſs; and the other ſhould never be unjuſt, 'tis well, if he kept his Word; and how uſeful muſt that Virtue be, which enables us thus to act; by which we have power to moderate our Anger.

THIS is *Meekneſs*, πραότης, as the *Greeks*; *Manſuetudo*, as the *Latins* call her; The two Extremes whereof are; on the defect ἀοργησία, to be free from Anger; which indeed, unleſs Reaſon be very ſtrong, is a great weakneſs,; but *Agapetus* tells *Juſtinian* the Emperour, τὸ πάντως ἀόργητον εὐκαταφρόνητον, He, who is never moved with Anger, is commonly contemned: The other Extreme in the Excels, is ὀργιλότης, a Vice, which as frequent as it is, hath not yet found an *Engliſh* Name; the *Greeks*, who abound in Names, call it ἀκεφαλία

or

or πικρία, *Bitterneſs*, and βαρυθυμία, *aſperity* of Mind.

Anger defined. ANGER therefore, which is the Object of *Meekneſs*, may be thus defined, it is a deſire to be revenged on ſuch as contemn us: For let us pretend what we will, it is Contempt, that moves us to Anger; and could we ſeparate or ſequeſter all other things which uſually provoke us to be angry from Contempt, we ſhould ſcarce ever be moved; when a ſtone falls by chance, and reaches us, either we are not concerned at all, or if we be, we make our ſelves ridiculous, as when the Dog bites the Stick, that hits him; but when it is thrown at us by a Perſon meaning to do us ſome miſchief, we are ſtirred up to Anger, not becauſe of the harm it does, but becauſe of the *contempt*, with which it is done.

Now the heavieſt thing, and of which Men are moſt impatient, is *Scorn*; For Man by Nature is *a proud* Creature, thinks others of little worth in compariſon with himſelf, and is apt eaſily to conceive himſelf ſlighted; But there is an Art of bearing Contempt, Croſſings, Contumelies, all kind of injuries and Affronts, which if we could once learn, there would be little uſe of the paſſion of Anger; οὐ δ' ἔστ' εἰδὼς ἀδικεῖσθαι,

δικᾶσθαι, ἐγω δὲ, ſaith a prudent Man in *Plutarch*. You know not how to ſuffer Wrong, *but I do.*

Now the ſpeedieſt and moſt ſucceſsful Way to learn with quietneſs to paſs by Wrongs, is to neglect Contempt, which gives them their Edg; But becauſe the great Maſter of *Ethicks* will have it ſo, We muſt learn how to be angry by Weight and Meaſure, *ſometimes more, ſometimes leſs*, according as our occaſions call. Saint *Auguſtine* had a Conceit, that if *Adam* had not faln, his paſſion of Luſt would have been ſo abſolutely under his command, that He might have raiſed or allayed it at his Will; ſome ſuch Conceit ſurely ran in *Ariſtotle*'s mind, when He would have us put our Anger as it were into a Scale, and ſo encreaſe and abate it at our pleaſure; whereas if the powers of our Reaſon were ſtrong, we ſhould do all things in good order, though we had no ſuch Paſſion at all, as Anger;; For there is never any neceſſary occaſion for being angry; or if there be, it is becauſe of a perverſe and peeviſh Humour, that reigns in mankind; which would uſurp upon us, unleſs we do exert an earneſt Paſſion to oppoſe it: Wherefore in Human Life it is not amiſs to put on a Diſguiſe and

and act a Fit of Anger, when we are not really moved; that we may defend our ſelves againſt all Invaders of our Right, and that we may wreſt it out of the hands of ſuch, as otherwiſe would never yield it to us.

Faſting no Remedy againſt Anger.

'Tis true, an abſtemious Diet, and a juſt reſtraint of our Appetites do make an eaſie Conqueſt of many other Paſſions, but *Anger* is a Devil, which no Faſting can caſt out; the warmth whereof is rather augmented and blown ſooner into a Flame by thinneſs of Diet: For we have a Queſtion in Natural Philſophy, *cur qui jejunant, ſitiunt magis*; to which this anſwer is made, That by *Faſting* our internal *Heat* is encreaſed; Now our Thirſt and our Anger ariſing from Heat, as this encreaſes, they muſt do ſo likewiſe: No wonder then if *Ariſtotle* found himſelf at a loſs, in giving Rules for preventing, moderating, and ending of Anger. Whereas ſuch Rules, as teach us to govern other Paſſions, we muſt apply to this of *Anger*.

With whom we may, and with whom we may not be Angry.

As firſt, The cauſes of our Anger muſt not be ſlight and eaſie, but juſt and of ſome importance; either the Service of God, or the violation of the Laws of our Country, the wronging of our Parents and Family, the taking away our good Name; theſe or the like

like occaſions may move us to Anger and juſtifie it.

Secondly, We muſt conſider the Perſon, with whom we are angry; For we may not lawfully be angry with God or our Parents, with our Maſters, Friends or Companions, with thoſe that teach and admoniſh us, or with thoſe in eminent Place, that are to govern us: Whenever ſuch unjuſtifiable Anger ſeizes us, its motions are ſo violent, that they ſhake the very principles of Religion, and will not permit us to do any thing, that is Chriſtian-like or manly: But if we are guided by the Rules of true Reaſon and peaceable Wiſdom, we ſhall be angry with none but wicked men; then our Anger will be called *Zeal*, and that with Virtue and Underſtanding.

One thing by the way it may not be impertinent to give warning of, that we be angry eſpecially in ſuch caſes, as concern us, and in which we have power to pardon or forgive.

Now it being unlawful for any Man to judg in his own Caſe, but He muſt betake himſelf to thoſe, who are appointed for that end, Perſons in Authority, to whom it belongs to avenge Wrongs, do often affect the reputation of Clemency by par-

pardoning injuries done to others, who call upon them for Juſtice. But this is a foul miſtake and very prejudicial to Equity; For Magiſtrates are in This like private men; They are then merciful, when they forgive Injuries againſt themſelves: when they do the like in miniſtring Juſtice for other men, it may be ſome inconſiderate pity, but mercy it cannot be.

What the temper of our Anger muſt be.

Thirdly, THE third thing to be conſidered is the Temper of our Anger; how far, and how much we are to allow to our ſelves in the caſe of Anger; we may not let looſe the Reins, but keep it within due bounds, and not be difficult in forgiving ſuch as have offended us, conſidering our own manifold infirmities; This is the Way to vanquiſh all the Sratagems and Conflicts of *Malice*; But whoſo does any thing in the firſt kindlings of Anger, He is ſoon miſled into the moſt deſperate precipices of Action; To remove this Evil, We muſt ſuffer our Paſſion to take vent and cool it ſelf; For to fly out into the heedleſs Adventures of Revenge and Outrage at the firſt inſtant as it were, hath prejudiced otherwiſe very good Men; When *Theodoſius* therefore, a Prince of the higheſt Virtue and merit, had much overſhot him-

himſelf upon ſudden Wrath, Saint *Ambroſe* adviſed him ever after that to rehearſe the Alphabet, before He ſuffered himſelf to proceed in his Choler; that He might gain time thereby to weigh the reaſons of his Wrath, and ſo might have an opportunity to prevent the breaking out of ſo dangerous a Fire.

What time our Wrath may continue.

Fourthly, A fourth thing to be conſidered is the time of our Wrath; How long we ſhould ſuffer it to depend; For long Anger grows ſour, and is eaſily turned to Hatred, which of all Vices hath in it the moſt Venom and filthineſs: For if Charity be the principal of all Virtues; then certainly, Malice is the principal of all Vices, as being moſt contrary to Charity; The Maſter of the Sentences had a Conceit, that Charity was the very Eſſence of the Holy Ghoſt, and that He really dwelt in our Hearts, when this gift of Charity was infuſed into us; I verily ſuppoſe He was deceived, but he ſaid enough to make us believe, that *Malice* is that great Sin againſt the Holy Ghoſt, which at no time ſhall find Remiſſion.

ABOVE all things therefore we muſt be wary, how we ſuffer our Anger by long retaining it to degenerate into the moſt pernicious

nicious Sin of Malice: For Moroſeneſs, a petriſh Humour, or whatever perverſneſs there is in our Natures, are nothing but the Ways and ſteps unto Malice, a Vice, by ſo much the more to be avoided, becauſe it is one of thoſe Sins, of which Men ſeldom or never repent them; as it is in the caſe of Avarice and Ambition, which after they have taken root, are ſeldom or never removed by Repentance. The Apoſtle therefore to cure the miſchief, which may come of long preſerving our Anger, confines it to one day; Let not the Sun (ſaith he) go down upon your Wrath; And the Scripture exhorts us all to poſſeſs our Souls in *patience*; as if He, who is out of *patience*, was out of the poſſeſſion of his own mind, and acted, as the Bees do, *animaſque in vulnere ponunt.*

We muſt not be froward in Company.

MANY other Particulars there are in common life, in which we are to watch over our Anger; as for Example, When we are diſpoſed to harmleſs Mirth, if we are froward, the whole Entertainment is ſpoiled; ſo bitter Words break to pieces the love and kindneſs of good Converſation; beſides Anger makes a man unfit for Society, becauſe it will force him to reveal Secrets, and fits thereof deſtroy the Methods of all

all ſorts of Buſineſs; above all things it muſt not be indulged by Magiſtrates; For *mediocritatem in puniendo nunquam ſervabit, qui iratus ad pœnam procedit*; that man will never keep to a due temper in inflicting puniſhment, who proceeds in an angry Mood to it: But in caſe of notorious Crimes they muſt not be too ſlow to Anger, leſt they ſeem to connive at them; neither muſt any of us fall too haſtily into paſſion, before we underſtand the cauſe throughly.

SOME of theſe Rules perhaps might have been ſpared; For ſo we do that, which becomes us, and as Reaſon doth direct, it matters not, tho we never be in a Paſſion; for uſually when it hath raiſed our Blood to a greater Fermentation, than ordinary, we forget our ſelves, and do more harm, than good, according as it is written in St. *James* 1. 20. *The wrath of man worketh not the Righteouſneſs of God:* Neither is there any paſſion, that ſo much tranſports men from their right judgments, as Anger; ſo thought *Plutarch*, whoſe Opinion hath ever been taken for juſt and true, eſpecially where he judges of *human* Actions; But *Ariſtotle* ſays, it ſerves for Arms to *Virtue*; yet they, who contradict him, ſay, it is a

new kind of Weapon; for our Hands guide not that, but that guides our Hands.

As for ἀοργησία, a total Freedom from all Anger, the leſs may be ſpoken, becauſe it is a fault ſeldom to be found among men, and no inconvenience follows upon it, if the Party, in whom it is, underſtands himſelf, and is ready to do, what Reaſon doth ſuggeſt to him. For the Philoſopher obſerves, that the Man, who is not angry, is not ἀμυντικὸς, not apt to Revenge; therefore if this ἀοργησία be a Fault, it muſt be favourably cenſured, becauſe it keeps men from Revenge, which unto us, that are Chriſtians, is a grievous ſin, and utterly forbidden: But mankind muſt take it for an undeniable Truth, that all peeviſh and moroſe Humours or whatſoever looks that Way, above all other things do render them unfit for Friendſhip and good Converſation: For ſo long as a man continues in theſe Moods, He hath ſomewhat of a Savage Beaſt, and is unqualified for Society; whoſe Picture is drawn by *Ovid* in theſe lines:

Revenge forbidden all Chriſtians.

Ora tument irâ, nigreſcunt ſanguine venæ,
Lumina Gorgonio ſævius igne micant.

And

And theſe Humours riſe by degrees and Ferment in the Mind, much after that manner, as *Virgil* hath deſcribed, *lib. 7.* the ſteam of a boyling Cauldron,

——*Magno veluti cum flamma ſonore*
Virgea ſuggeritur coſtis undantis aheni,
Exultantque æſtu latices, furit intus aquai,
Fumidus, atq; altè ſpumis exuberat amnis, *Vir. l. 7.*
Nec jam ſe capit unda, volat vapor ater ad (*auras.*

So that we muſt be at ſome pains to moderate and temper this Flame, and this cannot be effected, unleſs we withdraw the Fuel, that is adminiſtred to it by froward and pettiſh Humours; For this Paſſion, kept within due limits, and governed diſcreetly, is like the natural heat of the Blood, which gives life and motion to every limb of the Body; But if we ſuffer it to burſt out into Rage, it is then like that very Blood, ſet on fire by a Surfeit, and labouring under the Paroxyſms of a Feaver: Thus the ſame thing in its juſt temper brings us Health, and when its motions are immoderate, produces Sickneſs and Death. *Pettiſh Humours are the fuel of Anger.*

Now *Meekneſs* doth not only deliver us from the Exceſſes of *Anger*, but doth ſhew us *Meekneſs the only way to Peace.*

us the means, whereby we may enjoy a peaceable life in the midſt of all the Changes and ſtorms in Human Affairs: Which at firſt looks ſtrange, when every man ſeems to be engaged in ſome Faction or other; When Animoſity and ill Will do bear down all before them: For there is in moſt perſons a certain intemperance of Paſſions, that renders them very obnoxious to fall into theſe Vices; Which paſſions are chiefly the *deſire of Honour*, the *deſire of Riches*, or *the deſire of Revenge*; If a Man conſiders, how the publick or the particular concerns of the World are carried on, He will ſee, it is done by ſetting of *handles* to theſe Diſtempers in mankind; by which they are directed and led like Puppets on a Stage, by unſeen Wires; ſo that their motions are not from themſelves, but are managed by others, that either wiſely or craftily propoſe Objects to theſe unruly paſſions; then they begin to think that they need not run the long Race of Virtue, to attain Honour; nor the tedious application of themſelves to ſome Calling, to make them Rich, nor the regular motion of a judicial Proceſs, to avenge their Injuries: Nay, ſuch is the Enchantment, that ariſeth from theſe intemperances of the mind, that without

out any ſolicitation from abroad, they drive men headlong that Way, they think the ſhorteſt, to ſatisfie themſelves: But ſuch is the Conſtitution of a meek or a moderate Man, that none of theſe Diſtempers dwell in it; therefore He is proof againſt all their temptations; to this end He avoids ſuch things, as may procure Envy or Emulation againſt him; Envy being *an affection*, that hath vehement Wiſhes; and whereas there is an occaſion given of moving other Affections but now and then, this of Envy is the moſt continual and the moſt importunate; it keeps no Holy-day, but is ever at work upon ſome or other; and all the while it is the vileſt Affection, and the moſt proper Attribute of the Devil; to fly the Poiſon of this moſt depraved Vice, the Man of that good temper, we are deſcribing, is never covetous of great Offices, affects not Grandeur or Popularity, is frugal in his Entertainments and manner of living, is ready to help not only his Friends, but He is a Benefactor to Human Nature, whenever He ſees it in diſtreſs.

His Wiſdom is ſuch, that his domeſtick Affairs are never out of order; and his Goodneſs is ſuch, that He rather will forgive injuries, than proſecute the Wrong-

doers; by this means He ſecures his own ſafety in publick dangers; for by reaſon of his gentle behaviour He gets but few Enemies; and if He have any, ſuch is his Carriage, as that He either melts them into Friends, or doth ſo abate their Animoſity, as that they never attempt to hurt him.

Men are apt ſo to think themſelves above the reach of Enemies.

Now it is the common Folly and miſtake of Men, great in Place, Power, and Wealth, to think themſelves above the reach of Adverſaries; therefore they care not, whom they diſoblige by Inſolence and Scorn: Whereas it is a certain truth in the courſe of the World, that there is no Man, tho never ſo mean, but once in ſeven Years will have an opportunity to do the greateſt Man much good or much harm; as it is in the Fable of the *Lion* and the *Mouſe*, who for ſparing this contemptible Creature, was afterwards delivered by it from the Net, that entangled him, when his greatneſs and his ſtrength could not do it.

Now a Mild and Gentle diſpoſition toward mankind is a pleaſant as well as a uſeful thing, and is as eaſily exerciſed, as Roughneſs and ill Nature; and when a man can make a Friend upon as eaſie Terms, as He

He can make an Enemy, He is imprudent, if He do not the latter; for a mean Friend may be able ſometimes to do a great kindneſs, and a little Enemy may have an opportunity to do a conſiderable miſchief.

MEEKNESS therefore ariſes from the nobleſt diſpoſition of mind, that can be; Nothing renders a Man more beloved, and tho Popularity be a dangerous thing in a State, when it meets with an Ambitious Spirit; yet it is ſafe and deſireable, when found in a peaceable and wiſe Man: And the Excellency of this Virtue chiefly conſiſts in taming the Exceſſes of Paſſions of all ſorts; For Paſſion without this reſtraint would ſometimes break out into rude and offenſive Deeds, ſometimes into provoking Speeches; always diſorder the Judgment, and ſo brings Inadvertency into our Actions. But our *meek Man* is quite of another Frame; He allows ſuch a proportion and meaſure to every Affection, as that they may all ſerve the Ends of a virtuous and good Life. *Meekneſs is the nobleſt diſpoſition of Mind.*

So that if *Meekneſs*, which is the true temperament and Complexion of Virtue, did prevail more amongſt men; it would give them great ſecurity in troubleſom

times, procure them Friends, keep 'em conſiderate, and circumſpect in all they do, that they never over-ſhoot themſelves with Folly, Paſſion, and precipitancy in Words or Actions.

Now the happineſs of *meek Perſons* is ſet forth in the Doctrine of our Saviour, where it is ſaid, *They ſhall inherit the Earth*; that is, as *Grotius* interprets the words, They ſhall not only enjoy the moſt laſting peace in their own minds, but they ſhall partake of the moſt conſtant Friendſhip from others, which is the beſt poſſeſſion and moſt to be valued; That they ſhall inherit peace of Mind, is out of doubt, becauſe *meekneſs* hath a peculiar power in it to regulate the paſſions; the greateſt diſturbance to the quiet of our lives proceeding from their Exorbitances, whereby the mind is kept continually out of Frame; Nay, they are the diſtempers of it, and we may liken our Anger to a Frenzy, our Hopes and Fears to an Ague, our Love to a Feaver, and our Envy to a Conſumption: So that whatever will compoſe them, and bring 'em into Harmony, muſt needs be of great conſequence to our welfare.

Now

Now the Paſſions may be divided into two kinds; ſuch as are more violent and unnatural, referring to Evil, as *Anger*, *Fear*, and *Grief*; Others more natural and kindly, relating to that, which is good, and conſequently they are more agreeable to our deſires, as *Love*, *Hope*, and *Joy*.

THE firſt of theſe are curbed by a *meek* and *gentle Spirit*; the other are ſtrengthened and confirmed; and both ways our quiet is much promoted: For ſuppoſing we practice *meekneſs* in all matters of Controverſie, we ſhall thereby be inclined to judg ſoberly, and lovingly to accommodate all things: For ſuch a prudent relaxation of the utmoſt rigour, as right Reaſon ſhall direct, according to the variety of Caſes and Circumſtances, will beget peace to ones ſelf and the reſt of mankind.

Paſſions are commanded beſt by a meek Spirit.

SUPPOSING our minds be thus temper'd to mildneſs in the midſt of troubles, loſſes, and diſappointments; then theſe Evils will not be only leſs bitter to us; but we ſhall be able thereby to overcome the Evil and turn it to a good uſe, and to the fortifying our Spirits againſt the difficulties, that are to be undergone in the courſe of a virtuous Converſation.

BE-

BESIDES all this it is the peculiar priviledg of a *meek Man*, to have his Converſation in Heaven, while he dwells upon Earth; It is true, no man's mind is in this State ſo well framed, as fully to underſtand the happineſs of the other; but this we may be ſure of, that the peaceable and *meek Man* is beſt prepared for it, becauſe our Souls muſt continue for ever; What we make them in this World, and ſuch a diſpoſition of mind, as we carry with us out of this State, we ſhall retain in the next; For He, that *is filthy, will be filthy ſtill*, and He, that is *unrighteous, will be unrighteous ſtill*: In a place therefore of happineſs and purity there can be no room for fierce and unruly Paſſions, becauſe they would not only make us miſerable, but be a trouble to all thoſe, with whom we ſhould Converſe; For if a Man of a malicious and peeviſh Temper ſhould enter the Manſions of Bliſs, he would not only be unhappy himſelf, but He would raiſe ſtorms even in thoſe calm Regions; he would be like the Rich man in Hell, tormented with a continual Thirſt, and burnt up in the flames of his own ardent Deſires.

VAIN Man! that dreameſt of being happy, without any diſpoſition for it; To be

be happy, is to enjoy what we deſire, and to live with thoſe, whom we love; But there is nothing in Heaven ſutable to the deſires of a turbulent Man; all the Joys there are purely Spiritual, and are only to be reliſhed by thoſe, who are *meek* upon Earth, and have *purified themſelves, even as God is pure.*

THE hope therefore of that plentiful Inheritance, which God hath prepared for them, in whom there is the ſame mind and *ſpirit of meekneſs, which was in Chriſt Jeſus,* ſhould inſpire us always with new vigour in the ways of Virtue and Holineſs; This very thought ſhould confirm all purpoſes of Obedience; For if we have our *fruit unto holineſs*, our end will be *everlaſting Life:* For the other State was ſo unknown to mankind, that they knew not, what Diſpoſitions and Habits would qualifie them for it; before they were declared by our Saviour, who came from thence, and conſequently underſtood beſt, what were the neceſſary preparations for it; Though many Virtues, which he hath enjoined us may ſeem unneceſſary reſtraints of our Liberties; yet we ought to conclude, that He knew the reaſon of ſuch Commands, and that ſuch qualities will be found as needful in

Meekneſs is the moſt proper diſpoſition of mind for eternal Happineſs.

in the next World, as our *bodily Senſes* are in this: for virtuous diſpoſitions of mind, are as neceſſary to qualifie us to reliſh the pleaſures of Heaven, as our Bodily Senſes are to perceive the Delights of this World; and therefore we ſhould endeavour to exerciſe all thoſe heights of *Virtue*, which the Goſpel recommends to us; becauſe as much as we fall ſhort of theſe, ſo will our glory and happineſs be leſſen'd in the other State.

Of the Three Converſable VIRTUES, Comitas, Veritas, Urbanitas. *Firſt,*

Of *COMITY*, or *AFFABILITY.*

THE Virtues which adorn and recommend a Man in Converſation, and are therefore called by *Ariſtotle* ὁμιλητικαὶ, are eſpecially Three, *Comity*, *Veracity*, *Urbanity:* For Man by Nature is a Civil Creature and Sociable: And the practice of Virtue conſiſts in living ſutably to the Dictates of Reaſon and Nature; and this is the ſubſtance and main Deſign of all the Laws

Man is by Nature a ſociable Creature.

Laws of Religion, to oblige mankind to behave themſelves in all their actions, as becometh Civil and Sociable Creatures: For God did at firſt make them ſo, otherwiſe they muſt have lived and died like *Gladiators*, and have unavoidably periſhed at one time or another by their own Swords; otherwiſe the Well-being of the World muſt be entirely attributed to the Wit of Man, and not to the Providence of God, if ſo be He had ſent his Creatures into it in ſuch a Condition, as ſhould oblige them to ſeek their own ruin and deſtruction: whereas all men have by the Divine Appointment a common Right and Title to Happineſs, which cannot be obtained without Society, nor Society ſubſiſt without mutual Aids of Love and Friendſhip: That therefore, which makes men acceptable and inoffenſive, in nothing troubleſom, and welcome to one another, is ſuch a quality, as doth ariſe from the conſtitution of Human Nature, and was intended for the common good of mankind; who without it would live poor and ſolitary, like *Bats* and *Owls*, or like Vermine, by robbing and filching from one another. One of theſe Qualities is that, which *Ariſtotle* for want of a better word calls φιλία, and we define it

it to be a Virtue, which holds the middle place between *Flattery* and *Moroseness*.

A *Flatterer* is one that commends every thing you do, whether it be good or bad; He is a fawning Sycophant, that will embrace and commend a Man at that time, in which He really hates him: A morose and sour Person is one, who hardly approves any thing, but is blunt in his Expressions, and sullen in his humour towards all mankind: He, who can carry himself evenly between these two Extremes; as that He can praise without such Flattery, as calls a man Fool or Knave by Signs over his Shoulder, whilst He hath him in his Arms, and can discommend, what is indeed to be misliked without detraction or Satyre, He is the Man, whom we seek for.

FOR we are to esteem *Virtue*, not as the People do men, only by the marks and Value Fortune has set upon them, never considering intrinsick Worth; Whereas the King's Stamp makes not the Mettal either better or heavier: But the good Quality we now talk of is called by *Dionysius, Halicarnasseus*, πάντα τὰ ἀνθρώπινα ἐπιχαρίζεται χάρις, a Virtue, which gives grace a and lustre to all our Actions, and the same judicious

The Virtue affability gives a grace to all our actions.

dicius Author laments the want of it in *M. Cariolanus*, a Man otherwiſe of very Eminent Qualifications; But his being without this one Faculty expell'd him the City of *Rome*, made all his other Virtues unprofitable, and did caſt a Cloud upon the reſt of his Glories: For He thought, *not to do wrong*, was too mean a piece of goodneſs, to be accounted a Virtue; This τὸ πραὲς & φαιδρὸν, *Gentleneſs* and *Lovelineſs* was a ſtranger to all his Actions, otherwiſe moſt Honourable; Whereas no Courteſie, no Affability in a man of great Accompliſhments, is as unnatural andundecent, as no Ceremony in Religion.

IN the whole courſe of our Lives no Virtue is of greater uſe, none deſerves more regard, than this eſpecially in common Converſation; wherein the occaſions of *commending* and *reproving* do often occur, and this Virtue teacheth us how to commend without Flattery and to reprove without Bitterneſs: Indeed to praiſe men in their own preſence is very ſeldom neceſſary; they can do it faſt enough of themſelves, and many can ſcarce forbear doing it, tho it be nauſeous to the Company, with whom they Converſe: The leſs need therefore ſhall we have to ſpeak much of that, which

Flattery is an odious thing.

which we are like to have ſo litle uſe of; which wiſe and modeſt Men delight ſo little in: And what can be more irkſom, than to hear a Man flatter every thing, and every body alike! What more ridiculous, and ſhameful, than to ſee men bowing low, and hugging each other, whilſt they can hardly hold their ſolemn falſe Countenances! How grievous is it to behold men as ſhye of Plain-dealing, as a Cheat is of fair Play; they think, they ſhall never thrive, unleſs they practice all manner of plauſible Arts to compaſs their Deſigns; For let us obſerve at any time, what People do, when they meet together upon the Exchange or at the Court, they ſeem to put together many good Words to deceive or to ſignifie nothing.

Reproof is often neceſſary.

We muſt confeſs, occaſions of Reproof do often offer themſelves, and though they are neglected many times through a clowniſh Fear, or too much Reverence, which we have of our Company; yet Ways ought to be both ſtudied and found out, by which we may diſcharge as inoffenſively as we can, this very neceſſary Duty; And what better Example can we follow, than *Latimer* the Biſhop of *Worceſter*, who preſented King *Henry* VIII. with a *New-years-Gift*,

Gift, and it was in a Box ſhut cloſe; the King breaking it up, found in a fair Handkerchief theſe words wrote in letters of Gold; *Fornicatores & Adulteros judicabit Deus*: a Fault this Prince was too guilty of, and He thanked the honeſt Biſhop for his Civility, in correcting him after ſo gentile a manner. But moſt men are to be blamed in this matter; For *ſic objurgant quaſi oderint*; they put no difference between Reproving and Upbraiding; Whereas *Reproof* ought to be adminiſtred like *Phyſick*; or as we are wont to deal with Children, when a Potion is given 'em to drink, we anoint the Cup with ſome pleaſant and palatable thing, to make the bitter draught go down: And St. *Chryſoſtom* diſcourſing of a ſick Perſon, who longed much for Wine, which was bad for his Diſtemper, Reports, that his Phyſitian uſed this Art to deceive him; He took a new Earthen Cup, heated it thorowly in the Fire, then he quench'd it in ſuch fragrant Wine, as the Patient deſired; Having done ſo, he fills it with Water and preſents it to the ſick Man; who ſmelling the fragrancy of the Cup, ere he was aware drank up the Water, and ſo eſcaped the Danger, which had enſued upon his drinking the Wine.

SUCH commendable Arts we muſt apply our ſelves to, when we adminiſter the bitter but neceſſary potion of reproof; as that Chirurgeon, who being to lay open a very corrupt Ulcer, and ſeeing his Patient afraid, hides his Launcet in a Spunge, wherewith, whilſt he gently touches and ſeems to foment the Sore, he unexpectedly Launces it, and ſaves his Patient.

Great care muſt be had, with whom we converſe.

THIS Virtue, whoſe character we are now giving, will teach us a thouſand ſuch ways to deal with Mankind; in the uſe whereof, the thing mainly to be conſider'd is this, that we be eſpecially careful of what Perſons, we converſe withal; which are of Three ſorts, either our *Betters*, or our *Equals*, or our *Inferiours*.

IN Converſing with our *Betters*, we muſt beware of Sawcineſs, or of uſing our advantage if we have any; For it is a true Proverb, *He that eats Pears with his Betters, muſt take heed how he chooſe the beſt. Rigomez de Selva*, a great Courtier under *Charles* the *5th*, being one Night at Cards with his Maſter, the Emperour likeing his Game, Swore, that *Bout* ſhould be his; the Courtier not willing to croſs him, notwithſtanding he had much the better hand, threw up his Cards and yielded: Some of the

the ſtanders by, perceiving this, ſmiled; which the Emperour taking notice of would needs know the cauſe without any excuſe; and being inform'd, what *Rigonez* had done rather than he would diſpleaſe him, took it well for the preſent, and afterwards gave him a juſt reward: So welcome are theſe Civilities to Perſons of the higheſt Quality and Honor.

Secondly, Our behaviour amongſt our equals muſt be without all Imperiouſneſs; for Inſolence and Statelineſs are no ſigns of a well bred Man, but the Scandals of Converſation; and it being better to give too much Honor to any Perſon than too little; therefore it is better to carry our ſelves as inferiours to our equals, and equal to ſuch, as are not much our inferiours.

Thirdly, We muſt ſo Converſe with our inferiours, as never to do any thing that may look like ſcorn; becauſe Man by Nature is moſt impatient of Contempt: For a Perſon of Note and Birth in *Rome* Sueing once for the Conſulſhip, took one of the *Plebeians* by the Hand, and finding it ſomewhat hardened by the reaſon of his daily labour, asked him merrily, whether he were uſed *to go upon his Hands*: The Man taking this for a Scoff and a Deriſion of

Man naturally is moſt impatient of contempt.

him, complained to his Aſſociates, and did ſo far prevail, that the *Patrician* loſt the Conſulſhip for his unſeaſonable jeſt.

To conclude, in our behaviour with all kind of Perſons, we muſt cut off thoſe Angles, and ſmooth all that roughneſs, which may give offence; and be cautious, that we fall not upon either of the extremes, *baſe Submiſſion*, or *Surlineſs*; for theſe are the Two Rocks, between which we muſt ſteer our Courſe, if we would adorn the Doctrine of Chriſt with a blameleſs Converſation. If we would keep up Friendſhip with our Brethren, which Friendſhip bears upon it a Character of the Divine Nature; becauſe it is ever doing good to Mankind, and without which Affability is only *Talk*, but a *tinkling Cymball*: Nay without it the whole World is but a Wilderneſs, and Men are the *Savage Beaſts* in that Deſart: Now our Paſſions of all Kinds are moſt apt to ſwell and affect our Hearts; to eaſe and bring down theſe Swellings, is the principal Fruit of Friendſhip, which at the ſame time chears our Spirits, and quickens them alſo in Wiſdom and Virtue; it doubles Men's *joys*, and cuts their *griefs* into halfes; upon this account our moſt ſerious Religion commands us to be chearful and friendly,

Affability without Friendſhip is nothing worth.

ly, that we may be good company for our Neighbours; for hereby our words are made more gracious and acceptable, our conceits more quick and pleaſant, our countenances more ſmooth and obliging: A Temper thus Framed, may ſupport the Burden of Life very contentedly; which is not unfitly compar'd to a *Journey*; to perform it *all alone* is ſo uncomfortable, that we ſhould grow weary, as ſoon as we begin it, unleſs we were joined in friendſhip with our *Fellow-Travellers*, who will make it ſeem leſs tedious and burdenſome: What a comfort is this to humane Life! to walk with ſuch Companions, as ſhall aſſwage our cares with their wholſom Diſcourſes, diſpatch our Counſels with their ſage Opinions, and diſſipate our ſorrows with their innocent Mirth: Therefore *Solomon* hath told us, that *two are better, than one*; 1. *In the Caſe* of inward Weakneſs, if *one fall*, the *other will* lift up his Friend; 2. In the Caſe of *Dulneſs*, if one be *cold* and *heavy*, the other may communicate ſome heat to him; 3. In the Caſe *of Worldly Troubles* and violent Enemies, that may prevail againſt one, yet *two*, he ſaith, *ſhall withſtand them*: So in all private Caſes, the calling a Man's ſelf to a ſtrict account, is a Medicine ſome-

time too corrosive and sharp; the reading *Books of Morality* is often very flat and dead; and the observing our faults in others, is frequently unproper for our case; but the *best Receipt*, both for the amending our Manners, and the managing our Business, is the *Admonition of a Friend*; especially when he is one of real worth, having a Mind furnished with treasures of divine Wisdom, and a Heart *full of the Love* of God: For the Hope neither of gain, nor pleasure, nor youthful affection, but the Love of Wisdom, Goodness, and Sobriety must knit us together; we must be united by the admiration and esteem of the same things; for since the Study of Virtue is not subject to those changes of Fortune, that other things undergo, the benevolence of virtuous Men must needs be perpetual, and is not in danger to suffer that decay, which is wont to be the Fate of *vulgar Friendship*.

Of

Of VERACITY.

OF the *Converſable* Virtues, Veracity is the Tye, and that, which gives 'em their real price, the Philoſopher calls it Truth, but that name is too general; for Truth is properly the Object of the underſtanding, as we are taught in the *Metaphyſicks*, where *Ens* is ſaid to have Three properties, *unum*, *bonum*, *verum*. For when the underſtanding doth conceive aright of Things, as they are in themſelves with their mutual reſpects and relations one to another; then (as it were by a ſecond notion) it is ſaid to conceive the Truth; and if it happen not to form a right Conception of any thing, whoſe *truth* was not *made* by *the* underſtanding, but was *antecedent* to it; there it is ſaid to conceive that, which is *falſe*: For the better deſcent therefore unto our matter in hand, we are to underſtand, that there is in things a double Truth, one *Metaphyſical*, the ſpring of all our common Notions and Principles, and upon which we ground all our Reaſonings and Diſcourſe; to this is oppoſed *Falſehood* and *Errour*. Ano-

ther Truth for diſtinction ſake we call *Moral*, unto which is oppoſed a *Lye*. For when the underſtanding conceives amiſs of any thing, it doth not preſently *lye*, but *errs*, miſtakes, or reports a Falſhood. But *Mendacia animo conſtant*; we then *Lye*, when wittingly we broach a Falſhood for ſome evil end, either of gain or flattery, of fear, or ſome ſuch purpoſe: And here we find that *Truth*, which doth properly conſtitute this *Virtue*.

NOTWITHSTANDING Truth, as it is oppoſed to a *lye*, is ſomewhat of too large a nature to be contained under this Virtue, but it is often oppoſed unto Juſtice: But the Truth, which eſpecially belongs to this Virtue, concerns a point of behaviour in common Converſation, upon which we are frequently caſt: For περιλογία, that is, to ſpeak ſomewhat of our ſelves is often very neceſſary, tho it be ſeldom welcome: For a Man to praiſe or diſpraiſe himſelf is ungrateful, and quickly cloyes the hearer.

Veracity muſt govern our language, when we ſpeak of our ſelves.

NOW this Virtue of Veracity teacheth how to govern our Language, in caſe we are conſtrained to ſpeak of our ſelves; yet let me be ſo underſtood, that this Virtue doth alſo reach unto other parts

parts of our Diſcourſe; for it becomes us, whenſoever we ſpeak of any thing, to utter our Thoughts, plainly, candidly, and ſincerely: For clear and open dealing is the honor of Man's Nature; and every mixture of falſhood in the buſineſs of Life, is like Alloy in Gold and Silver Coin, which may make the Mettal work the better, but it embaſeth it: Neither is there any Vice that ſo covers a Man with ſhame, as to be found falſe.

Vain Boaſting is very ungrateful and ſilly.

THE two extremes of this Virtue will betray us much; on the one hand is ἀλαζονεία, vain boaſting, a humor either of making *Somewhat* out of nothing, or of much out of *little*: For it is the vanity of many Men beyond meaſure to magnifie themſelves, and by thus putting forth themſelves to deſire to ſeem ſomething; ſo their imaginations are filled with ſhadows of greatneſs; an example of which vain Glory is the Fly upon the Axle-Tree, ſaying to herſelf, what a *Duſt do I raiſe*! Such are Mountebanks of all ſorts, which we ſeldom miſs of in any Company; Men, who are always counterfeiting the Signs of ſome Virtue, which they have not, affecting every little ſtory of themſelves, and catching at honor from their very Dreams: Like the

the Mountebank-Phyſician, who would fain ſupply ſome higher Ability he pretends to, with craft, and draws great companies to him by undertaking ſtrange things, which can never be effected; ſo the Politician finding, how the People are taken with ſpecious, *miraculous impoſſibilities*, playes the ſame game, proteſts, declares, promiſes I know not what things, which he is ſure can never be brought about; thus they are deluded and pleaſed; the expectation of a future good, which ſhall never befall them, draws their Eyes off a preſent Evil; ſo *they* are kept in Subjection, and *He* by his Boaſting is eſtabliſhed in his Greatneſs and Power.

The contrary to this Vain-boaſting is by *Ariſtotle* called Εἰρωνεία, when a man diſſembles what he knows to be in himſelf, and loves to ſpeak ſlightingly of his own real Virtues, as in old time it was obſerved of *Socrates*, who was the *ſevereſt* Εἴρων in the World, as appears by him in *Platoes* Dialogues: This very thing is ſufficient to make us doubt at leaſt, whether we may number this kind of Irony among the vices; for the very Name of *Socrates* is the Name of Virtue: We muſt therefore with the Philoſophers leave find ſome other vice to oppoſe

poſe Veracity; which becauſe we have no name for, we muſt be contented to deſcribe it, and it is an *unneceſſary, overbaſhful diſſimulation of thoſe good things, which are in us.*

FOR there are many examples of Men, who are ſatisfied with the knowledg of their own good Parts; they have a Treaſure of Learning lock'd up, and they care not to diſcover it to their own great diſadvantage. If we peruſe the writings of other Men concerning the Nature of Veracity, we ſhall find them to extend it to more particulars; for according to them, all kind of Perjuries, Perfidiouſneſs, Diſſimulation, Craft, and all manner of Lyes are againſt it: So that if we would know, what Rule of Life this Virtue doth preſcribe us, we cannot expreſs it in more ſignificant Words, than *Tully* hath done in the Third Book of his Offices; where *verſuti, obſcuri, aſtuti, fallaces, malitioſi, callidi, veteratores, vafri,* are declared enemies to this Virtue, from which the ſhifting, cloſe, deceitful, malicious, ſly ſhufflers are always excluded: To which muſt be added all thoſe, who for their own advantage, keep other Men in ignorance of that, which they are very much concerned to know.

No Lye must be used in any business or contract.

IT will not be therefore much besides our purpose to commend unto all men a particular Care of their Language, to prevent all Deceit and Cozenage, that we never pretend one thing, and do another: Wherefore there must be no Lye admitted into any business or contract; and if there can be no place for collusion or iniquity in humane Society; what shall we say of the *Jesuits Morals*, who have brought them into Religion! to make this out, I shall instance in Six things, which I may call the more *refined* ways of Lying.

The Jesuits Morals censured.

First, THEIR Doctrine of Probability; if a Man can find a Doctor among them, that held such an Opinion, it makes that Doctrine probable; and as *Tully* says, there is nothing so absurd or ridiculous, which some Philosopher or other hath not maintained and asserted; so there is nothing so contrary to the Rules of Virtue and Conscience, but what some Romish Casuist hath resolved to be good and practicable.

Secondly, THEIR mental Reservation; you cannot know their names by what they say, because you do not know, what they reserve in their Minds, so that what they say, may be but half, or not at all, what they mean.

Thirdly,

Thirdly, THE ſubtle trick of directing the intention; by this they may kill a Man, ſo they do not *intend* to Murder him, but to deliver themſelves of an enemy; they may declare that, which is falſe, and deny that, which is true, becauſe they *intend* the credit of their Church; therefore this mere intention ſhall excuſe them from the Guilt of downright Falſhood.

Fourthly, THEIR Practice of Equivocation; which is ſo well known among them; inſomuch that no Man can confide in any word they ſpeak; they are ſo ambiguous, and of ſuch doubtful meaning.

Fifthly, THEIR Way of Evaſion; by having their Speech to bear a double Senſe; whereas no Man ought to uſe Wit and Parts to impoſe upon another, or to make a Man believe that, which he doth not mean; for in treating with one another, we ought to take care, that there be a right underſtanding between both Parties, and that each do apprehend one anothers meaning and intent: and in caſe there be a miſtake, we ought to releaſe one another; for all agreements are only in what we mean and intend; not in that, wherein we did not conſent and agree.

Sixthly,

Sixthly, THEIR ſhift of *Prolocution*, that is, to uſe Words of *ſuch* a ſound, when they do not intend ſuch a thing by them, as one would think, they did.

The beſt Religion ſpoiled by ſuch practices.

HOW witty ill men are to ſet up a Trade of *Lying*, and to ſpoil the *Laws* of the beſt *Religion*, that ever was made known unto Men; For the Chriſtian Law is plain and obvious, void of all ambiguous, or enſnaring Speeches; free from Sophiſtications and windings of Language; never flies to words of a dubious and uncertain ſignification, but openly declares the Truth to men; therefore theſe practices above-mentioned are contrary to that Simplicity and plain-heartedneſs, which ought to be in the Converſation of every Chriſtian: Such Simplicity as was obſerved in a Groom of the Bed-Chamber to *Henry* VIII. who always gave his Anſwers very warily, that he might not be taken in a Lye; inſomuch that it was good Sport with the looſer Courtiers to try, if they could entrap him: It being his Lot to attend the King in his Bed-Chamber, having laid him in his Bed, He took his leave; the King ſlips out of his Bed, and ſilently went after him; the Gentleman being come among the Courtiers, He was asked, Is the King a Bed? He anſwered *warily*,

marily, I *left* him in his Bed; by which Reply he defeated all their Art; For had he answered positively, *Yes*, as it was expected, the King was at his back ready to have given him the *Lye*; This is but a *merry* Story, yet it doth commend to us a serious Lesson concerning that care, which we ought to have in all our Discourses, that we speak nothing either *deceitfully*, or *falsely*.

AND by occasion of this Story, we may without trespassing against the Argument we handle, look into a Question heretofore managed with some Heat betwixt *Parsons the Jesuit*, a *great Patron* of *Artificial Evasions* in Speech, and others of his time, the Bishops of *Lincoln* and *Durham*.

THE Question was, Whether or no in case of some hazard, it were lawful to use any fine Device of Language to abuse such as were set to interrogate us in those Points, wherein there was evident danger of speaking the Truth?

THE handling this Question at large would require more time to dispatch it, than can be well afforded; yet for the present we will answer, That all *these Shades and Illusions*, by which Men evade direct and open

Truth is to be spoken in cases of danger.

open Language in case of danger, are in themselves unlawful: For if we once so speak, as if we accounted them lawful; that might befal us which befel *Calvin* in the Question of Usury: He granted indeed Usury to be lawful; but He so fettered and entangled his Grant with Restrictions and Reservations, that He, who practised according to his Rule, should gain but little by it. For what will the Reader conclude upon this; by *Calvin's judgment Usury is lawful*; This shall be Warrant enough for his practice, as for Restrictions and Reservations, he will make use of them according to his own discretion: The same may chance to befal us in this Question concerning the lawful use of *Dissimulations*, *Concealments*, *Equivocations*, and all subtle Evasions in Speech, when there is evident danger of speaking the Truth directly: For Experience tells us, that Men are apt to use all manner of Fallacy and Artifice, to save themselves and their own Stakes, not only before the Magistrate, but also in that solemn case of a *Corporal Oath* before God himself: What would they do then, if we should adventure to pull up this Hedg, and pronounce it lawful to use all the Art of a *deceitful Tongue*.

Equivocations unlawful.

IN-

INDEED Men of brave Spirits and clear Virtue, such as *Cato* or *Coriolanus*, who have precisely observed ἀκριβοδικαιον, exact *Justice*, have made no scruple to use these shiftings to save themselves or their Friends: For when we remember our selves, and what kind of Persons we live amongst, we find it true, what was wisely said, *periculosum est in tot humanis erroribus sola innocentiâ vivere*; The Best of us all are sometimes forced to make use of *By-ways*, when the High-way is beset with Thieves; when we deal with *Children*, with *Fools*, with *sick Persons*, with *our Enemies* in the Field (according as it is said, *dolus an Virtus quis in Hoste requiret?*) yea with our familiar Friends, we are compelled to make use of Art and Sleights to cozen them for their benefit; *honesto & misericordi mendacio calamitosi Civis Saluti consulimus*; *Quod mendacium licet in genere vitiosum, est tamen temporibus necessarium.*

IF we would be better informed concerning this Point, our best way is to consult the most Excellent *Grotius*, cap. 1. lib. 3. *de jure belli & pacis*, where we find it at large discussed out of all kind of Authors both Human and Divine: But after all that can be said upon this Theme, we can by no

Gro. ca. 1. lib. 3.

means abſolve theſe kind of Actions from Iniquity and Sin; only thus far we will go, as to declare them pardonable, when they are done upon conſtraint and high inconveniency, and take 'em to be allowed of, as *Moſes* permitted Divorce, only becauſe of the *hardneſs of men's hearts.*

The ſufferings of Truth lamented.

BUT before we conclude, we muſt bewail the *ſufferings* of *Truth* under the hands of thoſe Teachers, who to all the various inclinations of Men can carve 'em out, what Religion they pleaſe: This is the fruit of a dull Superſtition, when fooliſh men are perſuaded, they need not trouble their heads with the care of Truth, but leave that wholly to the Prieſt; who will ſuffer nothing to paſs for it, but what bears his mark and Licenſe; who hath aſſumed a Power by an *Index expurgatorius* to blot Truth out of the beſt Books; Where this Tyranny prevails, it is a misfortune to be born with Underſtanding.

WE cannot likewiſe but lament the ill uſage of *Truth*, when Men labour to darken it with *Metaphors*, or by being too credulous, or by oppoſing the Evidence of Senſe it ſelf *by Scepticiſm.* Beſides for the diſcovery hereof in many matters of Controverſie, we know not, how far we may rely on

on the teſtimony of Antiquity, nor how far we are to follow the Tract of Human Reaſon; eſpecially when there are ſo many Miſts caſt before us by the deceits of others, that one had need of a better Eye-ſight, than what is left us by the fall of our Fore-father. For all great Errours have ever been intermingled with ſome *Truth*; And indeed if *Falſhood* ſhould appear alone unto the World in her own true ſhape and Native deformity, ſhe would be ſo black and horrid, that no man would look upon her; and therefore ſhe hath always had an Art to wrap her ſelf up in a Garment of Light; by which means ſhe paſſes freely diſguiſed and undiſcerned. This was elegantly ſignified in the *fable* thus; *Truth* at firſt preſented her ſelf to the World, and went about to ſeek Entertainment; but when ſhe found none, being of a generous Nature, that loves not to obtrude her ſelf upon unworthy Spirits, ſhe reſolved to leave Earth, and take her flight for Heaven; but as ſhe was going up, ſhe chanced, *Elijah* like, to let her Mantle fall; and *Falſehood*, waiting by for ſuch an opportunity, ſnatch'd it up preſently, and ever ſince goes about diſguiſed in *Truth*'s Attire.

Falſhood wears the diſguiſe of Truth.

AND there is always ſome *Truth*, that gives being to every Errour, though ſometimes it would require a very curious Artiſt, in the midſt of all the deformities of Errour, to deſcry the defaced Lineaments of that Truth, which it did at firſt reſemble; as *Plutarch* ſpake of thoſe *Egyptian* Fables of *Iſis* and *Oſiris*, that they had ἀμυδρὰς λίνας ἐμφάσεις τῆς ἀληθείας, certain weak appearances and glimmerings of Truth; but ſo as they needed δαιμονίου ἐχνηλάτου, ſome *notable Diviner*, to diſcover them.

Whence the difficulty ariſes to find out Truth.

AND this I think is the caſe of all, that ſearch after *Truth*; they muſt go a long and dangerous Journey; ſometimes they muſt meet with no *path* at all; ſometimes with ſo many, and thoſe ſo contrary in appearance to one another, that the variety confounds them; Nay, ſhe is ſo involved and interwoven with miſtake; that Mankind ſeem to have done that to *Truth*, which the *Egyptian* Typhon did to the *good Oſiris*, when he hewed her lovely Form into a thouſand pieces, and ſcattered them to the Four Winds: Ever ſince her ſad Friends, ſuch as dare appear in her behalf, imitating the careful ſearch, that *Iſis* made for the mangled Body of *Oſiris*, have wandred up and down, gathering up Limb by Limb

Limb ſtill as they could find them; All the parts are not yet found, nor ever ſhall be, until her Maſter's Second coming; He ſhall bring together every Joint and Member; and mould them into an immortal Feature of Lovelineſs and Perfection.

IN the mean time we muſt not be wanting in all neceſſary Care for ſo doubtful a paſſage through all the Falſhoods, as well as Vanities of this Life: For theſe are the Evils, that produce moſt of thoſe Heats that are amongſt men; And if ignorant or malicious Phyſicians in this violent Feaver, did not apply new Heats, inſtead of Julips, they might by writing and ſpeaking Truth, reduce the World in a ſhort time to its antient healthful and natural Temper: For if Truth, as *Democritus* fanſied, lies at the bottom of a deep Well, we muſt ſeek for it in the Center and heart of our ſelves; And we ſhall find her ſeated in that Dominion, which the Underſtanding and Judgment hath over the Paſſions; which are the Glaſſes, that diſcover to us all the ſecret workings of the Mind, and they are the Inſtruments too, whereby She acts either Good or Evil: For according to the evenneſs and moderation of men's

Truth muſt be ſought for not without, but within us

tempers, ſo much the more impartial their judgments are, and conſequently ſo much the clearer Proſpect they have of all manner of Truth: This will encourage us to walk in the practice of Uprightneſs and *Veracity*, until we come to that other World, where are the Eternal Laws of *Right and Juſtice*, the *immediate and moſt ſteady Principles of Truth and Goodneſs*; where are *infallible Rules* for all *caſes* and Actions however *circumſtantiated*, from which the Will of God, though never ſo *abſolute*, ſhall never depart *one tittle*: For his Truth hath place in every declaration of his Mind, and ſignifies *an exact correſpondency or agreement* between his Mind and his Words, between *his Words*, and the *truth of things*; the correſpondency of his Words with his Mind, depends on the *rectitude* of his Will; the Conformity of Words with his Mind and with the truth and reality of things, depends not not only on the rectitude of his Will, but the *perfection* of his knowledg, and the Infallibility of his Underſtanding: Therefore *Porphyry* tells us, That this is one of the Properties of God, to have regard to the Truth, and *this is that*, which doth ſet men near unto God; and

and afterwards he adds, That Truth is ſo great a Perfection, that if God would reveal himſelf to Men, he would have *Truth* for his Body, and *Light* for his Soul.

Of URBANITY.

IN the Opinion of ſome auſtere Men this *Urbanity*, which we call a *Virtue*, may be thought to have a more fit place in *Eraſmus* his *Moriæ Encomium*; becauſe it contains the Doctrine, how we ſhould behave our ſelves in our Paſtimes: Indeed the Life of a Man truly Virtuous doth properly conſiſt in all Serioufneſs and Gravity; little or no room is left for Jeſting or any kind of Facetiouſneſs. But becauſe Man is a Creature of a weak and frail Conſtitution, eaſily ſubjected to Sadneſs and Melancholy, Facetious Speeches, a pleaſant and jocular Humour, have been commended by Philoſophers as virtuous, not diſallowed by Reaſon, commonly affected by Men, often uſed by Wiſe and good Perſons; Theſe things ought to have ſome place in our Con-

A facetious or pleaſant Humour allowed of by our Religion.

Converſation, otherwiſe we ſhould think our Religion chargeable with too much ſourneſs. And *Ariſtotle* believed them ſo neceſſary to ſweeten the practice of the grave and ſerious Virtues, that He brings in *Urbanity*, like a *Fool* in a Play, to make Sport, or like the Battel of the Cowards in the *Arcadia*, after the ſad Story of *Argalus* and *Parthenia*.

HE doubts very much, Whether He ſhould ſet it down for a Virtue or no; For in reckoning up the Vices of common Language, He makes them to be Three. Firſt, *Stultiloquium*, Speaking fooliſhly. Secondly, *Turpiloquium*, Talking lewdly. Thirdly Εὐτραπελία; which in *Engliſh* we call *Jeſting* or *Facetiouſneſs*.

BUT ſince for the refreſhing man's Life, and the ſmoother carrying on the more difficult Exerciſes of *Virtue*, there ſeems to be great need of ſome Mirth and Relaxation; We muſt find out a due temper for them, that we may keep the middle Way even in our Recreations.

NOW if ſuch a Medium can be diſcovered, there will likewiſe be ſeen the two Extremes, betwixt which it paſſes; as *Buffoonry* on one ſide, by *Ariſtotle* called Βωμολοχία, which is nothing but Impudent ſhame.

ſhameleſs, and injurious *Scoffing*, without any reſpect to Time, or Place, or Perſons. On the other Ruſticity, by *Ariſtotle* called ἀγροικία, which is nothing but a ſtupid Sullenneſs, that makes men appear Ill-bred, and unfit for Company.

WHEREFORE if I can make it out, when Facetious Humours are allowable, and when they are Wicked, and not to be endured; I ſhall be able to ſhew a Man, how to get the Reputation of a Wit, and of one, that is both Good and Wiſe too: 'Tis true, there is nothing, that men differ more in, than in determining, what Wit is; ſometimes they place it in Words and Phraſes; ſometimes in Appoſite Tales; ſometimes it puts on the dreſs of *Similitudes*, or is wrap'd up in humorous Expreſſions; ſometimes it is lodged in a ſly Queſtion, or a ſharp Repartee; ſometimes a tart Irony goes for Wit, or a big Hyperbole; In ſhort, No Man can give a reaſonable account of its Ways, becauſe it doth anſwer to all the numberleſs Rovings of men's Fancies, and to all the *turns* of their Language. *Men differ much in their Opinions about Wit.*

IT will be therefore very hard to ſettle a clear and *certain Notion* hereof, ſo as to make a Virtue of That, which appears in ſo many *ſhapes*; that we may as well define

fine the figure of the Air, as tell, what is is. Leaving then this to your Imagination, I ſhall ſhew that the practice of *Urbanity* or *Facetiouſneſs*.

Facetiouſneſs breeds good Nature in Mankind.

First, Is Lawful, if it doth not touch upon Piety, if it doth not diſturb the peace, if Juſtice and Charity are not entrench'd upon: For Chriſtianity doth allow of thoſe Pleaſures, that ſerve for the innocent eaſe and refreſhment of human Life; And *Urbanitas reficit animos*, ſaith *Quintilian*, conduces much to the breeding good Nature among us, whereby our Converſation will be rendred profitable and dear to one another, our cares will be allayed, and our drooping Spirits raiſed: But if we ſhould be tied always to look dumpiſhly, and never to ſhew an ingenuous Chearfulneſs, our value for the Precepts of Chriſt would exceedingly languiſh.

Secondly, It is allowable, when thoſe things, that are in themſelves baſe and ridiculous, are expoſed to Contempt: For where plain and blunt Arguments will not penetrate, there Wit may, which hath a keener edg, ſo may reprove and inſtruct, with ſuch ſharpneſs, as may correct the Stupid, and rouze the Negligent.

Thirdly

Thirdly, IT may be a proper Remedy for ſome Maladies of men's minds, as *Salt* is for cleanſing ſome Sores; For diverſe Perſons have ſuch a peculiar *Genius*, as that they will not abide a tart Admonition, but will admit of a free Way of telling them their Faults, and will amend upon it: they love a jolly and gay Humour; in their own Faſhion they may be taught to love ſober Thoughts; they hate the formal Methods of Inſtruction, and call it *Pedantry*; but Reaſon under the diſguiſe of Wit ſhall bring 'em to a better mind, when in its Native plainneſs its Advices would have been deſpiſed. *It inſtructs or reproves better, than Satyre.*

Fourthly, RAILERY is the beſt courſe we can take, to confute many Errours; For what ſhall we do elſe with thoſe, that deny the clear Principles of Reaſon; to deal in earneſt with them, will but raiſe more the Conceit they have of themſelves; But there is a Way of *Jeſting*, that will ſubdue the obſtinacy of the moſt perverſe, daſh the impudence of the moſt petulant, baffle the moſt captious *Sophiſter*, and confound the moſt wanton *Sceptick*.

Fifthly, IT is the ſureſt Defence againſt unjuſt *Reproaches*; And if the Patrons of Vice and Errour have made way for their corrupt *The cauſe of Virtue may be maintained by it.*

rupt Notions by witty Conceits and Elegant Expreſſions; Why may we not undertake the Cauſe of *Virtue* with the ſame Weapons; eſpecially when downright Reaſon is thought a heavy thing, and men are ſo diſpoſed to Mirth, who by this means may be made to know, that virtuous Men can ſpeak pleaſantly as well as judiciouſly: And if Rhetorical Schemes, Poetical Strains, Allegories, Fables, and Parable may teach, all the merry Fancies of the Facetious and Witty may adorn the Truth by inſtilling good Doctrines into the Head, and moving good Paſſions in the Heart.

THUS we may render *Facetiouſneſs* a Virtue; but as it is commonly uſed, it is far from being ſo; Sundry Authors, as *Tully*, *Quintilian*, and others of a later Stamp, have framed us an Art of *Jeſting*; which if any one thinks fit to ſtudy, He may *learn* the *Times*, *Places*, *and Perſons*, where and with whom *jeſting* is comely: If then a Perſon will keep himſelf from *buffoonery*, abſurd, or ſcurrilous Jeſting on one hand, and on the other from clowniſh *and unhandſom* Diſcourſe, they praiſe him for a Wit, and a pleaſant Companion, one, that knows fairly and without offence to entertain; And it is *Ariſtotle*'s greateſt Reaſon

to

to prove *Facetiouſneſs* to be a Virtue, becauſe it hath two Extremes, the *ſcurrilous*, and the *ruſtical Humour*; Whereas both theſe and the *medium* too may be all vitious; Phyſicians diſcourſing of *Feavers*, which are called *Synochi*, continued Feavers, diſtinguiſh them into three kinds; the firſt they call *Monotoni*, when the Diſeaſe keeps all in one Tenour; the ſecond they call *Anabatici*, when they grow unruly and encreaſe in harſhneſs; the third they call *Paracmaſtici*; that is, decreaſing, abating, and coming to ſome mediocrity; Notwithſtanding this diſtinction, more or leſs they are all Feavers ſtill: So it is in the caſe of *Urbanity*, *Scurrility*, and *Ruſticity*, they may be all Vices in common Life; And the Gravity of a well-tempered Man, much more of a Chriſtian, will own no ſuch Virtue as *facetiouſneſs*, as it is uſed in daily Converſation; the *Jeſter* is only γελωτοποιὸς, fit to make others laugh; Now *Epictetus* hath told us, this is ὀλισθηρὸς ὁ τόπος εἰς ἰδιωτεσμὸν, it is a place ſlippery, and eaſily leading us into *Idiotiſm* and *Folly*, as it doth, when men think it a mark of a high Spirit, to be an *Atheiſt*; Gentility and Wit, to droll upon Religion: Whereas I appeal to all the Wiſe and ſober World, whether they that would

The uſual way of Jeſting do not become a Chriſtian.

make

make Sacred Perſons and Things ridiculous, are not infinitely ſo themſelves? It is true, the World is much taken with this ſort of Ribaldry, and commends the man, who is skill'd in it, as a good Companion; but in ſtrictneſs of Life and Virtue we may not ſo account of it; *& nobis alii rarò, & nos aliis nunquam riſum pariamus,* is the good Council of *Picus Mirandula*; and it is given in charge preciſely by the laſt Canon of the third Council of *Carthage*; *ſi quis Clericus aut monachus verba ſcurrilia & joculatoria riſumque moventia loquetur, acerrimè corripiatur.*

Religion a chearful thing.

WE can afford then no other place to *Urbanity* in common Life, than what is allowed to *officious Lying* in the foregoing Chapter; it may be permitted ſometimes for human Infirmity ſake: And although ſome miſtaken men are pleaſed to paint out Religion in ſad and melancholy Shapes, with ſour and anxious Looks, as an Enemy to all mirth and chearfulneſs; yet there is nothing more noble and generous, more courteous and affable, more ſober and rational, than the Spirit of true Religion is: therefore they are unpardonably baſe and diſingenuous, who would blaſt its Credit with the follies and deformities of Superſtition

ſtition; as if it delighted in nothing but Sighs, and Groans, and diſcoloured Faces; as if the Principles of true Goodneſs were unworthy the entertainment of a generous Mind; when all this while they have in them all that is amiable and lovely, all that is chearful and ingenuous, all that is uſeful and profitable, and whatever can advance our Content, our Intereſt, our Reputation, or our Pleaſure. Wherefore that Religion, and Reaſon may well agree in the caſe of *facetiouſneſs*; that it may not tranſgreſs the limits of Sobriety and be conſiſtent with the tenour of a Chriſtian's Duty; that it may not fall under St. *Paul's* Cenſure of *fooliſh talking and jeſting, which are not convenient*; We may conclude, that ſuch *facetiouſneſs* is not unlawful, as affords harmleſs Delight to Converſation; becauſe Chriſtianity is not ſo harſh an Inſtitution, as to forbid mankind wholeſom and uſeful Pleaſures; *or ſacrificing to the Graces*, as the Ancients call'd it, when it expoſes all wicked and baſe practices to due Contempt, becauſe it is expedient, that Vices ſhould appear ridiculous to the whole World; For ſome Perſons are ſo temper'd, that they are ſooner *pleaſed* or *vexed* into better Manners, than they can be prevailed upon by grave

grave and ſevere Reproofs: when it is made uſe of to confute ſuch Diſputers, as diſavow the clear Principles of Reaſon and Senſe; therefore the moſt rigid Patrons of *Virtue* in *old time* and the *great Introducer of moral Wiſdom among the Pagans* did make uſe of tart and facetious Sayings to daſh the impudence of the *Sophiſter*, and to confound the *wantonneſs* of *the Sceptick*; for they thought it a diſadvantage to *Truth* and *Virtue*, if the defenders thereof ſhould be denied the uſe of this Weapon; ſince it is that eſpecially, whereby the Advocates of *Vice* and *Errour* do maintain and propagate them: And there is no doubt, but Chriſtians may claim the ſame priviledg; provided, they do not *ſport* with holy Things; nor detract from the good Name of their Brethren, to *gratifie* a *Fancy*; provided alſo, they do not offend againſt the reputation of Perſons eminent in Dignity or Worth, nor raiſe Animoſities and Feuds in the Neighbourhood: in brief, if without wronging others, or doing any prejudice to our own good behaviour, we can be *facetious*; then *Urbanity* may conſiſt well enough with τὸ πρέπον & τὸ σεμνὸν, that *fitting Decency* and *Stately gravity*, which ought to be ſeen always in our Converſation.

What uſe the Ancients made of Urbanity.

Of

Of MODESTY.

FROM ſuch Virtues as become Men, we muſt now diſcourſe of a *Female-Virtue*; For all Ages and Nations have made ſome diſtinction between thoſe, that are *Maſculine*, and others, that are *Feminine*; And this being ſuch, we muſt in complaiſance allow it to be a Virtue, tho *Ariſtotle* is ſo ill bred, as not to do it: For according to his way of Arguing, it is not gotten by frequent Actions, therefore it is no Habit, and therefore it is no Virtue; it is rather born with us, runs in our Blood, and is given by Nature as a preſervative againſt too much Boldneſs, or too much Lightneſs, to which Vices Youth are moſt liable.

Why Modeſty looks not well in elder Perſons.

HENCE it comes to paſs, that it doth not look well in Elder Perſons; For they through their long experience, and trial of moſt Caſualties in Life, ought to be well aſſured of what they do, and therefore ſhould not bluſh at any thing: For it is a Quality, which of it ſelf will decay through maturity of Years, and it hath this difference from Fear, that ſhame and baſhfulneſs

neſs makes us look red; Our Fear makes us look pale; and therefore is certainly a diverſe Paſſion, ariſing from diverſe Cauſes; the one makes the Blood *flow* into the Face; in the other it *ebbs* into the Heart.

THIS makes it appear more like a Paſſion, than a Virtue; Now there is a conſiderable difference between one and the other; For a Paſſion floats in the Blood, riſes and falls with the Ebbs and Tides of our Humours; and it were an eaſie task for any Man, that underſtands the *Anatomy* of the *Brain*, the *ſtructure* of the *Spleen* and *Hypocondria*, the *divarications of the Nerves*, their *twiſtings* about *the Veins* and *Arteries*, and *the ſympathy* of *parts*, to *give as* certain and *mechanical an account* of all the motions of *the Paſſions*, as of any vital or animal Function in the Body.

Paſſions are ſeated in the Blood.

WHEREAS *Virtue* proceeds from the ſtrength and improvement of our natural Abilities; When the Supreme Faculties of the Underſtanding and Will govern the inferiour Affections, and do keep them within their lawful bounds; the ſame thing is called *Grace*, as it proceeds from the aſſiſtances and impreſſions of the Spirit of God; upon which it wholly depends, and not upon the motion of the Heart, or the circulation of the Blood.

Virtue is ſeated in the Soul.

AND

AND many have laboured to make Modesty one of these Virtues, and to that end they have found out therein an excess, which the *Greeks* name Καταπληξις, the Latins, *Stupor*, which makes a Man overbashful in the performance even of honest Actions; whereby the Works both of Virtue and Industry have been very much hindred: The other extreme is called by the *Greeks* ἀναισχυντια, Impudency, which is a quality of a quite contrary nature, rendring Men bold and adventurous, let the action they undertake be good or bad: Something like to *Æsop* and his fellow-Servant, of which the one professed, he could do all things; the other, that he could do nothing; the one is afraid of every Bush, the other fears no Colours, but sets upon all rash attempts; the *Medium* betwixt these two extremes, is that αἰδὼς, *verecundia*, Modesty, which in the youthful Age especially is *ipsissimus virtutis color*, the very Complexion of Virtue.

Modesty useful for the regular guidance of our actions.

ACCORDING to this account of Modesty, it may be made very useful for the regular guidance of all our Actions; for in humane Nature there is generally, more of the *Fool*, than of *the Wise*; and therefore those faculties, by which the foolish

part of mens Minds is taken, are moſt potent. Now overmuch boldneſs is a Child of Ignorance, yet it doth ſtrangely poſſeſs ſome Men, thoſe, that are either ſhallow in Judgment, or weak in Courage: Nay you ſhall ſee an impudent Fellow Act Mahomets part, and make the People believe, he can call *a Hill* to him; he ſees no dangers and conſiders no inconveniences.

Now the modeſt Man weighs the difficulties, which he is to encounter; he will not offer at any thing beyond his Strength, nor Mountebank-like, promiſe great Cures when he wants the Grounds of Science. But to fail in any lawful or juſt Enterpriſe, it would put him ſo out of countenance, that he would not be able to bear it: For to do a good and laudable action in ſpite of invidious Men, who grudge at the proſperity of Virtue, he thinks that a piece of dareing Manlineſs, which he may affect without the breach of Modeſty: At the ſame time he Bluſhes at the ſound of an Oath, and is aſhamed of Drinking; he is too baſhful for the Chamber of the Whore, and cannot behold the deteſtable Foreheads of the violent, unjuſt, and debauched Race of Mankind without great confuſion of Face.

If we consider Modesty in these Actions, we shall find it the most indispensible requisite of a virtuous Man; a thing so essential to the making him so, that every the least declination from it is a proportionable receding from goodness; and the total abandoning modesty in these and many other cases ranks Men among Brutes.

I need make no collection of the Suffrages either of Philosophers or Divines to prove this matter; it being so much an instinct of Nature, that tho too many make a shift to suppress it in themselves, yet they cannot so darken the notion in others, but that an immodest Person is look'd on as a kind of Monster, a thing distorted from its proper Form; as Women are, when they become prostitutes; who must break all the restraints of their very Nature, before they can be made so: Thus it is with shameless Men; in adventures, where courage is necessary, they will not be constrained by any prudential consideration, but will run upon the Mouth of a Cannon to gain the name of bold and daring Heroes; in *the fury of* their Lust, they will violate all the obligations of Morality, to fulfil these vehement desires; in common Life, they Laugh at the ties of fair deal-

Shameless and immodest men can do nothing well.

ing, that they may grow rich, and contemn their poorer Neighbor; in *their Politicks*, they will betake themſelves to the moſt deſperate Counſels, that they may trample upon others, and force them to draw their Yoke: In their Speculations, they will ſink themſelves into the groſſeſt Hereſies, that they may boaſt *of their ſkill, and wit* above the reſt of inferiour Mortals: In their daily Commerce, they will ſtrive to *over-reach their* unwary Brethren, that they may ſhew themſelves more expert Gameſters at the intricate Cheat of Trading in the World.

THUS if you examine all the ſtations, that the ſeveral Degrees of Men are placed in, we muſt attribute moſt of their deviations from Virtue, to an impudent Humor, that cannot endure any moderation, and is impatient of all thoſe Precepts, that would render every Man an humble and a modeſt Creature.

NOW on the other hand too much ſhamefacedneſs is a clog, and a kind of a dead weight upon Virtue, to ſtop its progreſs, that it may not exert its power with that advantage, which otherwiſe it would do: This makes it look, as if it were too dull a Principle for the Happineſs of Life, which is ever in motion.

INDEED

INDEED, if we conſider the nature of our Paſſions; they are perhaps the ſtings, without which they ſay, *no Honey* is made; yet I think all ſorts of men have ever agreed, they ought to be our Servants, and not our Maſters; to give us ſome agitation for Entertainment or Exerciſe, but never to throw our Reaſon out of its Seat: Perhaps I would not always ſit ſtill, or would be ſometimes on Horſeback; but I would never ride a Horſe, that galls my Fleſh, or ſhakes my Bones, or runs away with me as He pleaſes, ſo as I can neither *ſtop* at *a River* or a *Precipice*; better no Paſſions at all, than have them too violent, or ſuch alone, as inſtead of heightning our pleaſures, afford us nothing but vexation and pain. *Paſſions muſt be kept within due bounds.*

BUT in the caſe of *Virtue*, we had as good have none at all, as have it too *baſhful*; For this one bad Quality will bring upon us the juſt Cenſure of being either idle or cowardly in its Warfare; whoſe Exerciſes we muſt undertake with the ſame reſolution and undaunted Spirit, as we ſee ſenſual men to purſue every pleaſure they *can ſtart*, without regarding the pains of the Chaſe, the *wearineſs* when it ends, or how *little the prize* is worth: All the World is perpetually at work about nothing elſe, *We muſt not be too baſhful in the exerciſe of Virtue.*

but only that our wretched Lives ſhould paſs the eaſier and the happier for that little time we poſſeſs them, or elſe end the better, when we loſe them: Upon this occaſion Virtues came to be admired, becauſe they are the beſt means to this End: He therefore muſt bid defiance to mankind, muſt condemn their univerſal Opinions and Deſigns, if inſtead of practiſing theſe Virtues with conſtancy and courage, He ſhall offer to ſneak out of the Field, and by too much *baſhfulneſs* betray the Fort, that He ſhould maintain againſt the aſſaults of Vice. Not that we are to preſume too much, or think our ſelves ſo ſafe, that we may venture into all ſorts of bad Company without danger of being infected; A man may as well upon confidence of a ſound Conſtitution enter a Peſt-houſe, and converſe with the Plague; whoſe Contagion doth not more ſubtlely inſinuate it ſelf, than the temptations of evil Converſe: Neither muſt we think to ſequeſter our ſelves out of the World, which never can be drawn into uſe, neither will it mend our condition: for if every action, which is good or evil in Man at ripe years, were *unavoidable* or *compelled*; What were *Virtue* but a Name, What praiſe could be then due to well-doing, What commendation

tion to be *ſober*, *juſt*, or *continent!* But God left *Adam* free, and ſet before him a provoking Object ever almoſt in his Eyes, and herein conſiſted the right of his Reward, and the merit of his abſtinence; To what purpoſe did he create Paſſions within him, and Pleaſures round about him, but that theſe rightly *temper'd*, are the very Ingredients of *Virtue:* This juſtifies the Providence of God; who though he command us *Temperance*, *Juſtice*, *Continence*; yet He pours out before us (even to a *profuſeneſs*) all deſireable Things, and gives us Minds that can wander beyond all Limit and Satiety: It is not neceſſary then to affect a Rigour contrary to the manner of God and of Nature, by flying from the Delights or any other Enjoyments of this World, which are freely permitted, both for the trial of *Virtue*, and the exerciſe of *Truth*. In the caſe therefore of Converſation in general, and eſpecially of that, which is mixt, *Male and Female* together, we muſt put on ſuch a *Modeſty*, as may guard our Virtue againſt the ſtrongeſt perſuaſions to Evil: 'Tis ſaid of *Philopæmen*, that the *Lacedæmonians*, finding it their intereſt to corrupt him with Money; they were yet ſo poſſeſt with the Reverence of his Virtues, that none durſt

No Virtue without freedom to act, or not to act.

Virtue an awful thing.

durſt undertake to attaque him: Such an Authority there is in *Virtue*, that it will diſcourage the moſt impudent Aſſailant; Such a Sovereignty appears in its very *bluſhes*, as is able to controul all looſe Deſires.

Of TACITURNITY, *or the Government of our Speech.*

THE great Work and buſineſs of a Chriſtian is to act wiſely, and to govern himſelf diſcreetly, and it is one difficult part of that Government to rule his Speech, as he ought; For the Tongue is a very nimble and verſatil Engine, which the leaſt breath of Thought doth ſtir, yet it turns the whole World about; becauſe all the affairs of Converſation and Commerce are manaaged thereby; whatever is done in the Court, or in the Hall, in the *Church* or at the *Exchange*, in the *School* or in the *Shop*.

Now there are four Queſtions, that may here be put.

1. *What*

1. *What it is to rule or bridle the Tongue!*
2. *Wherein it is to be governed!*
3. *Why or for what Reaſons!*
4. *How this is to be done!*

FIRST to rule our *Tongues*, is to weigh and conſider, what we are about to ſpeak; and to reſtrain our ſelves from uttering that, which upon conſideration we find is not fit to be made known; And be we never ſo paſſionately earneſt to eaſe our Minds; yet we muſt chuſe rather to offer the greateſt violence to our Paſſions, than give our ſelves leave to ſpeak that, which ſober Conſideration and ſound Chriſtianity do not allow of: Both which do principally charge us to ſpeak nothing, when we are urged to ſpeak much, or to ſpeak gently and wiſely, when our Paſſions would move us to ſpeak at *random*. *What it is, to rule the Tongue.*

THEREFORE we muſt bridle our Tongues eſpecially from meddling with theſe five things: 1. *Vanity*. 2. *Swearing* and *Curſing*. 3. *Lying*. 4. *Flattery*. 5. *Reproach* and *Scoffing*: For by theſe Evils moſt of the miſchief, that is in the World, is promoted; He, who babbles that, which is *vain* and *trivial*, is altogether uſeleſs; and He, who ſpeaks that, which is *falſe*, is very deſtructive at leaſt to himſelf; He, who Flatters,

Flatters, abuſes his Friends with *falſe Countenances* and *feigned Speeches*; He, who Reproaches, wounds his Neighbour, and violates the great Duties incumbent on us, *Juſtice* and *Charity*; He, that *ſwears*, profanes God; which is a certain ſign of a vain and light Spirit, that conſiders little, and cannot diſtinguiſh Things.

To the Queſtion, Why we ought to *bridle our Tongues*, I ſhall anſwer in two Inſtances.

Want of conſideration the cauſe of ſpeaking fooliſhly and raſhly.

Firſt, By ſhewing the Evils, that accompany an *unbridled Tongue*.

2. By ſhewing the rare Effects of a *well-governed Converſation*.

Now if a Man doth not conſider what He is to ſay, in ſome meaſure he ſpeaks, he knows not what; how great a Folly is it, to offer that to the judgment of others, whereof a Man hath made no judgment himſelf; to ſpeak Words, and expect the Hearer ſhould put Senſe into them, though the Speaker intended none! Whereas weighty and deep Senſe lies low and deep in the mind, is not eaſily and readily drawn out; Wiſe Sayings and Sage Counſels do not dwell upon the Tip of the Tongue; they do not edg and fringe our Lips: they do not guſh out like pent-Waters, but ſpring gently

gently and eaſily drop by drop; So the heavieſt Bodies lie neareſt the Centre; Gold and Silver are in the hidden Mines of the Earth, while dirt and mire cover its Face; So the Treaſures of the Sea ſink to the bottom, while Foam ſwims aloft, like unto which are *raſh and haſty Words*, that knock at every Ear, that importune every Man, that ask and anſwer every Queſtion; They are the *Scum* of an empty Mind, the very froth of an unſetled and uncompoſed Spirit.

WHEN therefore I ſee a Man ſwell with Pride and Scorn, with Envy and Wrath, ſaying, This Man hath no Religion, and the other knows nothing of the *Power of Godlineſs*; This is a *Formaliſt*, and That an *Hypocrite*; this is *Ignorant*, and the other meerly *Moral*; I can no more think him to be a good Chriſtian, than I can believe Scorn to be Piety, Bitterneſs to be Love, or Fury to be Patience.

WHEN I ſee a Man haunt Atheiſtical Company, hear him Rioting in Wine, when vain Diſcourſe fills his Mouth, and Trifles wag his Tongue, as puffs of Wind ſhake the leaf of the *Aſp*; when uncleanneſs flows out of his Belly into his Mouth; I muſt needs think, that his Heart is full of theſe Fornications, which have debauch'd his Tongue,

Tongue, and that all theſe Evils are painted tot he life in his impure Fancy, which hedeſcribes in his Diſcourſe; Wherefore let a Man ſpeak, as He would be thought to be; For whatever ſlight Thoughts any man hath of his Words, others will paſs Sentence on him according to them, and the leſs he conſiders them, the more they will be conſidered by others, and that to his ſhame, and to the diſgrace of that Religion, which He doth profeſs.

Men will be judged of according to their words.

MOREOVER, an *unbridled Tongue* diſturbs the World, fills it with Confuſion, and darkens all with Smoak, and no wonder, for it ſets all things on fire, and no wonder at that neither, being its ſelf *ſet on fire of Hell*; and as a *ſpark* will kindle a great Fire, ſo a *word* hath been often the occaſion of many Quarrels, and of Deaths in the World: For Words are the wings of evil Reports, and evil Reports are the Arrows of evil Tongues, and wicked Words feather thoſe Arrows; they carry an ill Tale through a whole Country and propagate Miſchief, as the Sun doth Light, ſwiftly and on every ſide; they publiſh it in the Streets, or at the Table; and whiſper it in the Cloſet; ſo every place is infected with Calumnies, evil Surmiſes, and bitter

ter Cenſures: Look but into any Neighbourhood, and how many Feuds ſhall you find between Brother and Brother; How few Families ſhall you find not infected with this Breath! that are not filled with Suſpicions, that are not exaſperated with Conteſts and Contradictions. Then if you enquire into the reaſon of theſe inordinate Heats, and unchriſtian Diſtempers; you will find, they began thus, this Neighbour ſpoke contemptibly of the other, and He returned the Scorn again; then mutual Scorns beget mutual Grudges, and God knows, where thoſe Grudges will end; For He that draws the Sword, muſt as we uſe to ſay, throw away the Scabbard; So He, that ſpeaks a raſh Word, little knows the offence He may give, what jarrs he may kindle, and how far, or how long they may be propagated: For commonly men entail their Quarrels upon their Children, and following Generations inherit the the Animoſities of their Anceſtors, and Children ſtudy to Revenge their Parents ſufferings: Hence come endleſs Suits at Law, and hence proceed many bloody Duels; For how many have loſt their Eſtates to ſatisfie a Paſſion! How many have rather choſen to die upon the point of a Sword,

Scornful Speeches the riſe of moſt differences.

Sword, that have the pain of a ſharp Reproof; So great miſeries doth *Evil-ſpeaking* produce in the World; beſides the confuſion it creates in a man's own Soul; for it makes the ſame ſhakings within, as it does without: Now there can no greater Evil befal a man in the judgment of the Holy and Wiſe, than to have his mind the Seat of a War, than to have Wrath, Malice, Fear, and Revenge claſhing one againſt another in his own Heart; For every man's own Spirit ſhould be a Sanctuary, or a place of Reſt to himſelf; after the hurries that he meets with in the World, and in the government of its Affairs, a man ſhould always have God, and a peaceable Mind to retreat to; for this is the ſecurity of wiſe and good Men, that the diſturbances, which are without them, do not reach their thoughts, looking outward when they ſee nothing but Diſorder, and hear nothing but Clamour, within they find peace, and joy, and light, even the Light of God's Countenance and of a clear Conſcience; But it is quite contrary with the *violent Talker*; who is at firſt warmed by ſome inward heat, but then the Coals are blown up, and the Fire grows too ſtrong to be ſuppreſſed; Hence we may obſerve, that He, who hath begun a Quarrel

rel ſometimes in Words expreſſing Prudence, though Diſpleaſure, hath in the progreſs of it talked himſelf into a Fhrenzy, and hath enflamed his own Spirit beyond all meaſures of Diſcretion.

FURTHER, An *unbridled Tongue* Scandalizes Religion, *therewith bleſs we God, even the Father, and therewith curſe we men, who were made after his likeneſs*; This is to join the love of our Father, and the hatred of our Brother together; Thus to repreſent Religion, as a thing reconcileable to Evil, is the greateſt Scandal to it, and makes it a contradiction to it ſelf: *Woe be to them*, ſaith our Saviour, *by whom offences come*; and woe be to him that cenſures Morality, and is not himſelf Moral; who calls himſelf a Chriſtian, and yet hath not mortified one Luſt: For it is not Chriſtianity to be unlike the Author, who was *meek*, *humble*, and *charitable* in all his Converſation; Neither is it ſo to make a Lye; to be Suſpicious, or Envious; Proud or Self-willed; to Scorn, and Deride, to Cenſure and Backbite: For as a *Fountain cannot ſend* forth at the ſame place *ſweet water* and *bitter*; ſo neither can a *godly Man* raiſe a *falſe Tale*, or believe it, when it is raiſed; but his Chriſtianity is ſuch, as the Apoſtle deſcribes, 1 *Corin.* 17. *Religion ſcandalized by an unbridled Tongue.*

4, 5, 6. 7; *ſuffereth long and is kind, vaunteth not it ſelf, is not puffed up, doth not behave it ſelf unſeemly, ſeeketh not her own, is not eaſily provoked, thinketh no evil, rejoyceth not in iniquity, but rejoyceth in the Truth, beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things.*

MORE than this, an *unbridled Tongue* is an uncontroulable Evil; a Beaſt not to be tamed and quieted; Is it not an unreaſonable thing, to value no man's Religion, and to ſpare no man's good Name! What can we think of ſuch a Spirit, whom the reverence of God's Command ſhall not awe; whom Chriſt's Example of *Patience* ſhall not move! Who will not learn *Modeſty* from an *Angel*, who would not bring a railing Accuſation againſt the *Devil* himſelf!

REFLECT therefore (O Man) upon thy ſelf and conſider; as thou wouldſt not demonſtrate thy ſelf to be a *raſh* and *unmortified* Perſon; as thou wouldſt not enflame the Neighbourhood and diſturb the World; as thou wouldſt not ruffle and darken thine own Soul; as thou wouldſt not of a man make thy ſelf an unreaſonable Brute; as thou wouldſt not have thy Religion, a vain and unprofitable Thing; as thou

thou wouldſt not be deceived in ſo important an Affair, as Chriſtianity it ſelf; take heed of an *unbridled Tongue*, and govern thy Speech wiſely; which is to be done by theſe means;

1. *By poſſeſſing certain Habits.*
2. *By acting by certain Principles.*

First, THE *Habits* we are to *poſſeſs* are, 1. Sound and impartial *Judgment*. 2. True Chriſtian *Love*. 3. Deep and ſerious *Humility*. 4. Firm and ſolid *Patience*.

A ſound judgment will put a ſtop to Evil-ſpeaking.

First, WE muſt ſtudy to gain a clear *Judgment*, that no *ſelf-Conceit* may bribe us to think well of our ſelves, or to *deſpiſe* our Brethren; For, ſays *Plutarch*, *We ſhould not firſt love, and then judg; but firſt judg, and then love*; And there is in no caſe more need of This, than in relation to our ſelves, becauſe we *naturally* love our ſelves, even before we are able to make any judgment what *we really* are; and we are all fond of our ſelves, well reconciled to our own Opinions and Actions, and therefore do always preſume well of our ſelves. But on the contrary, moſt men are at enmity with the Virtues of others; therefore we are apt to think meanly and ſpeak ſuſpiciouſly of what is Eminent in them: whereas, if we would forbear to ſpeak of others, till

we have examined our ſelves, I believe, our accuſations of them would die in that ſelf-examination; and we ſhould generally find ſo much to condemn in our ſelves, that we ſhould not readily *arraign* other men.

Charity is of great uſe to rule the Tongue.

Secondly, HE, that will govern his *Tongue* well, muſt labour after the Spirit of *Charity*; For *Charity* will cover *a multitude of ſins*, our *own ſins* from the *indignation* of God, and other men's *ſins* from our *reproach*. And He, who ſtabs his Brothers Reputation with an *evil Tongue*, ought to conſider, that theſe polluted ſtreams which guſh out of the *Mouth*, flow from a bitter *Fountain* in the *Heart*; that *keen words* are the effuſions of *Hatred*, and He, *that hateth his* Brother, *is a Murderer*. Whereas, if our Religion were *Love*, as it ought to be, what a great change would it make among us! For when *we love*, we ſhall hold our Peace without a *bridle* in our *mouths*; we ſhall bridle our *Tongues* without a Bit in our jaws; we ſhall rule our Paſſions without pain, and *naturally* Heal, where we now Wound.

Humility will check raſh words.

Thirdly, WE muſt practiſe deep and ſerious Humility; For *raſh words* are generally the vomit of *Anger*, and *Anger* proceeds from Pride: But of all men thoſe, that

that are *humble*, are the leaſt prone to break out into violent and indecent Speeches; For if other men think well of *themſelves*; they are apt, without evident reaſon to the contrary, to think ſo of them too; if others have a mean eſteem of them, they think as meanly of *themſelves*; they agree with their very Enemies, and they are of the ſame Opinion with thoſe, who have the leaſt *value* for them; It is *Pride*, that ſwells and boils with Rage and Contempt, that is diſpleaſed and offended with every thing; that brands this man with Hypocriſie, and the other with Superſtition; that calls this man Carnal, and the other Ignorant; Nay, if God were like unto vain Man, then Ignorance muſt know, and Prejudice muſt judg, Paſſion muſt hold the Scales with her trembling Hand, and Pride muſt ſtep into the Ballance to weigh for Religion: But when theſe fumes of Pride are over, and the vapours are ſcattered; when *Humility* hath brought us to *ſelf-Reflection*, we then learn to think *ſoberly*, and to judg *charitably*, according to that of the Apoſtle, *Phil.* 2. 3. *Let nothing be done through ſtrife and vain-glory, but in lowlineſs of mind, let each eſteem others, better than themſelves.*

Without Patience we are not fit for this World.

Fourthly, We must endeavour after *Patience*; which if it be not as firm, as a Rock, we are not fit for this World; if we cannot hear *ill*, and do *well*; if we cannot be content to hear a Fool contemn a Wise Man, and an Hypocrite vaunt it over a sincere Christian; if we have not the patience to hear *Words* cryed up against *Things*, and impertinent Discourses thought to be very Oracles; if we cannot hear our *selves censured* for our Sobriety, and hated *for our Love*; we are not fit to converse among men; For the best Men are every day abused by unjust Reproaches, and Aspersed by Lyes; And therefore if others speaking *evil* of us shall be judged a sufficient reason for us to speak *evil* of them; as long as we live, we shall be *Evil-speakers*; Wherefore we must either resolve to hear our *selves traduced* by ill Reports, and make no other returns, but Prayers for our unjust Accusers, or else we must throw up our Claim to Christianity, and reckon *our selves* among the *Scribes* and *Pharisees*, who return Injury for Injury, and dash one Wrong against another.

THUS much for the *Habits*, that help us to govern our Speech; the Principles that we are to Act by, follow:

First,

First, We ſhould conſider, that it is our chief buſineſs to reform our *ſelves*; For the *Phariſee* is not amended by accuſing the *Publican*; nor the *Publican* by finding fault with the *Phariſee*; but the *Phariſee* and *Publican* both by condemning *themſelves*; Therefore we ſhould always, when we are inclined to condemn others, think thus with our *ſelves*; Do we acquit our *ſelves* by accuſing them! Do we reform our *ſelves* by correcting *them!* Are we the more Innocent, by pronouncing others *guilty!* Do we find our own Corruptions abated, by ripping up thoſe of other men! If it be not thus, what have we been doing all this while? We have forfeited our Intereſt in God, and our Title to the Name of Chriſt; and there are none ſo free to meddle with other men, as they who moſt of all neglect *themſelves*. *Our chief buſineſs is to amend our ſelves.*

Secondly, We ſhould conſider, that a Man is never qualified to reform others, till he hath in the firſt place *amended himſelf*; For let a Man but look into his own Boſom, it will like the *cleareſt Glaſs* reflect upon him the exact Images and proportions of his *Virtues* and *Vices*; the only fear is, leſt this Mirrour ſhould be any ways cracked and flawed by Self-love, mingled with

other untoward Paſſions, that do ſo cloud the mind with *prejudice*, that it cannot take due meaſures, and underſtand it ſelf aright: Indeed, a Man thus blinded, is ſo far from being ſenſible of his own imperfections, that He takes thoſe very Defects often for good and great Accompliſhments; which makes him judg, He hath no faults, when he hath as many, or more, than other men. Thus a Man is the worſt Neighbour to himſelf, when he is ſo partial a Judg of his own Actions, as quite to overlook his *Errours*, or to miſapprehend them for *Virtues:* But he is fitteſt both to reform himſelf and others, who with an impartial and ſevere Judgment makes a ſtrict enquiry after what is amiſs at Home, and will not ſuffer any fondneſs to himſelf to miſguide him in the Examination; For after that Self-love, Envy, Pride, Hatred and Flattery, thoſe malignant Humors, are purged out of the Heart; He may ſafely be admitted to judg of other men; For knowing well, what he himſelf is, his Charity in judging others will be ſuch, as will bear all things: Inſtead of ſpreading ill Reports, He is in nothing more buſie, than in ſtopping the Current of them, and in preventing as much as he can, whatever will prove miſchievous to Human Society:

ciety: Not that he doth, or ought to think well of all *Perſons*, or ſpeak well of all *Things*, but He thinks and judges of things, as they are, being always directed therein by Charity and Prudence: For if a good Man ſhould not condemn things as bad, and faulty, which are really ſo, he will be in ſome caſes thought *treacherous* or *cowardly*, when He dares not reprove Evil for fear of ſome diſpleaſure; In other caſes an Hypocrite or a Flatterer, when He paſſes by or commends that, which his Conſcience doth not allow of. *None are obliged to ſpeak well of all Perſons, or Things.*

THE beſt Method any one can follow, to avoid theſe Extremes, and to go through the World with an unblameable Credit, is never to ſuffer the Mind, whoſe thoughts are ever at work, to ſtart out into *wanton* Imaginations, ſo as to make him a Tatler, or a Buſie-Body, but with conſtancy to apply his whole Soul to the examination of his own Ways, which is the ſureſt and beſt courſe to guide our Judgments aright; which when *David* did, he preſently turned his *Feet to God's Teſtimonies*.

Thirdly, WE ſhould conſider, that all the Words, which our Tongues have uttered, as well as whatever our Hands have acted muſt be accounted for to God; AND *Our words muſt be accounted for to God.*

if

if we do but reflect upon the Frame and Temper of our own Spirits, we cannot but conclude from thence; that every one of us muſt give an account of his own Actions, and the Judgment hereafter ſhall paſs upon us according to that Account: For every Man's Soul hath a Conſcience belonging to it, and whereſoever this Conſcience is, it giveth teſtimony to this *Truth*; As we hope therefore for Salvation at this great Day, let us ſet a *Seal* upon our *Lips*, becauſe by our *Words we ſhall be juſtified*, and by our *Words we ſhall be condemned*.

WHEREFORE, A Man who would live, as He is obliged by the Precepts of *Virtue*, muſt take care,

Firſt, THAT he does not miſtake the place of his Religion, ſo as to be buſie in the Lives of Others, and negligent of his own, that He do not with Zeal cry down the Evils of the Times, and yet practiſe thoſe Evils, which He condemns.

Secondly, THAT he do not miſtake the Power of Religion, as if it meant no more but a bare *profeſſing to be religious*; this Opinion makes ſome men contented, that their ſins ſhould be expiated by Chriſt's Blood, but they care not for having their Paſſions ſubdued by his Spirit: they are

ſo

ſo far from it, that they do not think, that this is intended in his Goſpel, or that it is poſſible to be done.

Thirdly, THAT He do not miſtake a part of Religion for the whole; as if God could be indented withal for a Diſpenſation in ſome parts of Chriſtianity, in recompence for his Zeal and Activity in others.

FOR if a Man profeſſes Religion, and yet doth not *bridle* his *Tongue*; We may infer, that He doth not look upon his Religion, as an Obligation upon him to reform his Life: Whereas if we would take, as we are bound, the meaſures of our Religion according to the Victories we have gained over corrupt Affections, and according to the Graces of the Goſpel, which we have acquired; it would abate a great deal of that confidence and Pride, that is in the World; For then every one would take care, that his Religion be practical; then all men would believe, that nothing can make them truly religious, that doth not conform them to the Life and Spirit of *Jeſus Chriſt*; then they will not take that for Chriſtianity, which doth not either ſubdue ſome known Luſt, or conform them to ſome known Law.

Every Man ſhould take care, that his Religion be practical.

Of

Of JUSTICE.

HITHERTO we have handled *Virtues*, which concern us privately, and as *we are alone*; But it is noted by learned Men; *Virtue* is diſtinguiſhed either as it is our Duty in all our private Capacities; or as it is in Relation, and carries with it ſome reſpect unto others: What we have hitherto aſſerted concerning the Rules and Maxims of *Virtue*, they are all deſigned for the ſolitary and retired State of Man, and would bind him up to the ways of Goodneſs, if there were none in the World, but himſelf. But *Virtue*, as we are now to conſider it, is of a very large extent, and reaches to all the Families, and Commonwealths in the World: This preſcribes 'em their Laws, this upholds their Order, and their Safety.

There is an eſſential Juſtice in the frame of Human Nature.

FOR Man by Nature is a Sociable Creature and delights in Company; ſo that in the very frame of Human Nature there is an *eſſential Juſtice*, that demands of every man Offices of Love and Kindneſs to others as well as himſelf; in that without this that common welfare, and happineſs, which the Divine

Divine Providence, that made Nature, designed for all and every individual of mankind, must become utterly unattainable; Hence it is, that few men care to live alone, and those, that do it, are either Savage People, or they are discontented, and the humorous: But men generally are gathered into Commonwealths, and the lesser Companies of them are divided into Towns or Cities; who are all thus met to comfort one another with *mutual Society* and *mutual Help*.

Justice keeps all things even and true.

Now the Virtue, which fits and composes us for so excellent an End, as is common Society, that holds the Scales, and keeps the ballances of all things even and true, is *Justice*; accordingly it is said by *Euripides* ὁ δικαιος πᾶς πολας πέφυκ' ἀνὴρ; a just Man is made for his Neighbours; For if Men should promote the good of Society, submit to Laws, practise Justice, and refrain from Cruelty, only to secure their own personal safety and interest; then whenever this Obligation ceases, all the Ties to Justice must cease also; and when any single person can hope to advance his own Interest by the ruin of the publick, it will be lawful for him to effect it: But the *just Man*, that God hath made so, is one, who

who thinks himſelf bound to maintain the common Right of all, and to ſecure his Neighbours happineſs, as well as his own; For if Juſtice be not ſuppoſed to be the Law of our Natures, no *Covenants* can be of power enough to bring us under any Obligation to it; But this is a moſt certain Truth, that all men have a natural Right to Happineſs from the very deſign of their Creation; that this cannot be acquired without mutual Aids and Friendſhips; and therefore right Reaſon dictates, that every man ſhould have ſome concern for his Neighbour, as well as himſelf; becauſe this is made neceſſary to the welfare of the World, by the natural ſtate of Things, and by this mutual Exchange of Love and Kindneſs men ſupport one another in the comforts of Human Life.

Univerſal Juſtice. NOw *Juſtice* conſidered thus, as it ſtands in relation to others, hath a double ſignification; either it is Univerſal, and contains in it all Uprightneſs, Integrity, and obedience to all Laws, that are wiſely Enacted; For ſometimes it falls out, that even multitudes of men have conſpired in making unjuſt and wicked Laws, as might be proved by ſeveral Inſtances in ſome unfortunate Times.

OR

OR elſe *Juſtice* is particular, and conſiſts in two words *Suum cuique*; in giving every man his Due, and this is that *Virtue*, the nature of which *we now enquire* into; For though *Juſtice* be a prime and natural Virtue, yet its particular caſes depend upon human Laws, that determine the bounds of *Meum* and *Tuum*; Indeed, the Divine Law reſtrains *Titius* from invading *Caius* his Right and Property; but what that is, and when it is invaded, only the Laws of this Society or Country they live in, can determine; For Nature doth not aſſign this Moiety to *Titius*, and that to *Caius*, but leaves us to ſhare the Earth among our ſelves, and to encloſe, what ſhe had left in common, into particular properties, as we ſhall agree among our ſelves; And there are ſome caſes, that are Acts of injuſtice in *England*, that are not ſo in *Italy*; otherwiſe all places muſt be governed by the ſame Laws, and what is a Law to one Nation, muſt be ſo to all the World: whereas it is evident, that neither the Law of God, nor of Nature do determine the particular Inſtances of moſt Virtues, but for the moſt part leave that to the Conſtitutions of National Laws; As for Example, Theft and Murther, Inceſt and Adultery are forbid

Particular Juſtice.

bid in General, but what theſe crimes are, they determine not in all Caſes, and whatſoever the Law of the Land reckons for ſuch Crimes, That the Law of God prohibits.

Juſtice conſidered in oppoſition to Mercy.

But before we proceed on the Point of particular Juſtice; we muſt obſerve, that *Juſtice* commonly ſtands in oppoſition to *Mercy*; as St. *James* tells us, when he ſaith, *mercy rejoyceth againſt Judgment*, or as the *Pſalmiſt*, *my ſong ſhall be of mercy and judgment*, which may be better tranſlated thus, be it Mercy, be it Judgment, yet will I Sing, in which ſenſe Mercy is oppoſed not to Juſtice; for God and good men are juſt both in Mercy and Judgment; but to *ſeverity*; in which Senſe civil Officers are ſaid to do Juſtice, when they Fine, Impriſon, and Hang Malefactors.

Out of this confuſed Maſs of Juſtice taken univerſally, we are to treat of particular Juſtice; which, as we have obſerved, is fully ſet forth in thoſe two Words *Suum cuique:* Now if I ſhould undertake to define this Virtue, as we have done others, by the Paſſion, it governs, which I cannot eaſily name, or by giving you the two extremes, which it moderates, and brings to the middle way; I ſhould do more,

more, than either *Ariſtotle* himſelf, or the reſt of the Lawyers, who call themſelves *Sacerdotes Juſtitiæ*, have done in thoſe infinite and immenſe Volumes, which they have written *de juſtitiâ et jure* againſt the expreſs charge and command of *Juſtinian* their Original and prime Author.

If we conſult *Ariſtotle*, he tells us, that Juſtice is the Habit, *quô juſta volumus*; and we are much as wiſe for this, as we are for that itinerant and *riding definition*, which he hath left us of Quality, *Qualitas eſt à quâ denominamur quales*, and more than this we ſhall not be able to extract out of all the Cart-loads of Law-books: Out of all the endeavours of their exacteſt Penmen. I remember well, that *Ariſtotle* hath taught us, that ſome Virtues conſiſt in the Moderation of our Actions, and for the Midiocrity it is in this, that we give not to any Man *more* or *leſs*, than *his due*, and this is the moderation, which we muſt keep between *nimium* and *parum*, in doing of Juſtice; then we offend in one extreme, when we give *too much*; then in the other, when we give *too little*.

Now Juſtice taken in this Senſe is twofold, either commutative or diſtributive, or as ſome learned Men affect to call it, *Juſtitia* *Juſtice is either Commutative or Diſtributive.*

Juſtitia expletrix or aſſignatrix; here by the way, we may take notice of a vanity in many great Scholars, of innovating the ordinary and known names, under which things have paſſed; thus Mr. *Hobbes* hath been thought as the prodigy of the age, as very a *deviſer*, as if he had found out Gunpowder, or Printing, only for dreſſing *common acknowledged things* in *new Phraſes*, and then *trimming* them up for new *Diſcoveries*; So *Ramus* is notoriouſly Guilty of this fault, who ſtriving to bring all Arts into a new Order and Method, hath ſo changed their antient Names both in Grammar, Logick, and Mathematical Science; that it is a great part of Learning to underſtand his new Language, and ſome have been known, who well underſtood theſe Sciences in the common Speech, to have been more troubled to underſtand 'em in his new-fangled Cant, than they were at firſt in their ordinary Dialect; for as my Lord *Bacon* wiſely obſerves, nothing hath more hindred the Growth of Learning, than Peoples ſtudying of *new Words*, and ſpending their time in *Chaptring*, *Modelling*, and *Marſhalling of Sciences*.

THE learned Author of this new Language of *Expletrix* and *Aſſignatrix*, inſtead of

of the old Dialect of *Commutative* and *Diſtributive* Juſtice, may take his ſhare patiently in this reproof.

What Commutative Juſtice is.

FIRST, COMMUTATIVE Juſtice, is that Juſtice, wherein we give by way of exchange, one thing for another; as when a Shoomaker gives Shooes, and the Huſbandman Corn, thus naturally did all Men Traffick, ware for ware, one commodity for another, which we call Trucking or Bartering: But becauſe this manner of dealing proved full of inconveniences; for avoiding theſe, Men have found out another way of exchange by *Money*, which by a univerſal agreement, is made the common meaſure of all things, paſſable by way of Bargain and Sale; now *Money* receiveth valuation and price, by the poſition of the Prince and State, or the mutual Convention of Men, things moſt alterable upon every occaſion; therefore the *Grecians* do term it Νόμισμα, becauſe it conſiſteth νόμῳ, not φύσει, as being nothing in Deed and Nature, but wholly depending upon the voluntary Inſtitution of Men.

WHOSOEVER invented it, did Mankind a great piece of Service, and freed them from that cumberſom way of changing ware for ware: For in the Firſt place,

Money is of eaſie portage; ſo that bearing about with us a little in our Purſes, we have the price of all things to be bought by Money. 2. It is made of Gold and Silver, in this proportion, that one Ounce of the former, is equivalent to twelve Ounces of the latter; which proportion to one another theſe Metals have born from the beginning: And of theſe Metals, mankind have made choice, becauſe tho they are procured by tedious and difficult Voyages, yet they may be had, and that in ſome abundance; for had they pitcht upon Lead, Braſs, Copper, Iron, or any other more ignoble Earth, it had been liable to many inconveniences, chiefly two; Firſt the abuſe of Coinage; 2. The burden of Carriage; every one would coin 'em at his pleaſure, becauſe they may be had every where, and at a cheap Rate; every one would complain of its weight; therefore *Lycurgus*, the Founder of the *Spartan* Republick, that he might perſuade his Citizens out of their love of Money, by a new kind of Argument, eſtabliſhed a Law, that it ſhould be made of Iron; inſomuch that when they went to their Markets, they were forc'd to convey it in Wagons, by reaſon of the weight, and the vaſtneſs of the

the pieces: And we read, that the *Romans* uſed Braſs for their Money, in whoſe Language *Æs & Ærarium*, ſignifies Money and the Treaſury, and *eſſe in ære alieno*, is to be in Debt: This was as great an inconvenience to theſe People, as it was to the *Spartans*; for their *As*, which is but half-penny-Farthing in our Money, with them weigh'd a Pound; whence comes the phraſe *Æs grave* ſo often met withal; wherefore about the time of the firſt Punick War they brake their *Aſſes*, which were before *Librales*, into *Semiſſes*, juſt half ſo much; thus by degrees they made uſe of ſmaller portions, until greater quantity of Gold and Silver came in; which by conſent, were made the common meaſure of all things paſſable by exchange; ſo became the beſt and fitteſt inſtrument of Commutative Juſtice.

Severus his Rule of Juſtice

THE Rule, by which we are to exerciſe this Juſtice, is that, which *Severus* the Emperour wrote upon his Palace, *quod tibi fieri non vis, alteri ne feceris*; whatſoever we would that Men ſhould do unto us, do we even ſo to them; this Sentence ſhould be writ on our Houſes Tops and on our Exchanges: The meaning of which is this, that we ought to put our ſelves

into the circumſtances of every Man, with whom we deal; that then which we deſire, he ſhould do to us; that do we to him; and that which we would be unwilling he ſhould do to us; do we not to him.

Now this is an exact Rule; and it is plain and eaſie: Many men cannot find out what the Law is, or the Right in ſuch a Caſe; it is ſo entangled in long and intricate Rolls of Parchment; many men cannot deduce the Laws of Nature one from another; but there is no Man, but can tell, what it is, that he would have another man do to him; every one can take his own actions, and put them into the other Scale, and can ſuppoſe, if this, that he does now to another, were to be done to himſelf, ſhould he be contented with it: And thus by changing the Scales, the very Self-intereſt, which makes a man Covetous, and inclines him to injure another for his advantage, makes him likewiſe unwilling that another ſhould wrong him.

It muſt be confeſſed, in matters of Contract and Commerce; many Queſtions ariſe, which it is hard for one to decide, who is unacquainted with theſe affairs, the neceſſities of things, or the hidden reaſons of ſome kinds

kinds of dealing: However this is a general Rule, in making Contracts we must deal fairly and truly; in performing them we must satisfie the engagements, we have made; for so we would have all Mankind to treat us: Hence we are obliged not to impose upon any Man's ignorance or unskilfulness; we may set a just value upon our Goods, but we are not to set a Price upon another man's Head, nor to Tax his ignorance; therefore no advantage must ever be made of Children, or any other incompetent Persons: And it is sinful to disparage another man's Commodities, or to raise our own above the truth, that we may thereby lead a man into errour, or draw on a Bargain the more easily.

Unskilfulness or ignorance are not to be imposed upon.

MATTERS of rarity and fancy have no certain Estimation; therefore we must be moderate in the price that we put upon them; so much the rather, because in these things we are left to be our own Judges, Neither should we venture so far, as to go to the utmost limits of what is Lawful; for he, that will walke upon the very brink, the least step awry will tumble him down; so he, who will do the utmost of what he may do, will sometime or other be tempted to what he should not act; for it is a

ſhort and eaſie paſſage from the edges of what is lawful, to what is unlawful and evil; Therefore in that latitude which Trading Men have of Gain, they are bound by this Rule of Juſtice to ſhew favour to the Poor and Neceſſitous; to practice Ingenuity towards the ignorant or unskilful, and moderation towards all Men.

WHERE they have any doubt about the equity of their dealings, they ſhould chooſe the ſafeſt part; for not only a good Conſcience, but a quiet one is to be valued above Gain; therefore in Matters of Duty they ought to do the moſt; in diviſions of Right and proportions of Lucre, where there is any Diſpute, they ought to *chooſe the leaſt*; for this is always the ſafeſt courſe: Now the circumſtances, that vary Caſes, are infinite; ſo that when all is done, much muſt be left to the equity and chancery of our own Breaſts: Neither can it be determined, how much a Man may get in the Pound and no more; for he may make a greater Gain at one time, than another, of the ſame thing; he may take thoſe advantages, which the change of things, and the Providence of God gives him; he may take more of ſome Perſons, than others; provided, he uſe all men righ-

teouſly,

teouſly, he may uſe ſome favorably. I ſhall not deſcend to any more Particulars on this Head; for the ſake of Sir *Thomas More's* Obſervation of the Caſuiſts in his time, that they did not teach Men not to Sin, but did ſhew them, how near they might come to Sin and not commit it.

Diſtributive Juſtice adjuſts due Rewards and Puniſhments.

THE ſecond Species of particular Juſtice, we call Diſtributive Juſtice, which is concerned in adjuſting due Rewards and Puniſhments; and in dealing with every Man according to his deſert: For many Men doing the ſame thing do not deſerve alike; great Perſons and private Men, carry not away the ſame reward of their Actions: The Husbandman ſells his Corn at the ſame Rate to the Prince and to the Beggar; but the ſame Action of the King, and of the mean Perſon, is not rewarded in the ſame meaſure: Seeing therefore doing of Juſtice is nothing elſe, but dealing equally with all Parties as near as we can, that all things may come to equality, or which is the ſame, to equity, we are to obſerve, that there are two ways, which we are to take in all our Actions, of doing Juſtice:

Firſt, ONE is called *medium Rei*, which is always the ſame, and is that *medium Arithmeticum*,

Arithmeticum, which *Ariſtotle* and other Moraliſts talk of at large.

Secondly, THE other is *medium rationis vel proportionis* and is called *medium Geometricum*, which is not always the ſame, but varies according to *perſons*, *times*, *occaſions*, and other *circumſtances*.

How Equity and Juſtice differ.

NOW the principal thing, which is to be reſpected in the doing Juſtice; is that, which we call equity; as it ſtands in oppoſition to the rigour or ſtrictneſs of Law. And here we muſt obſerve, that there is ſome difference between Juſtice and Equity; tho ſometimes they are put together and are taken for the ſame thing; what the Laws and common Reaſon will allow, that we call juſt; but equity conſiders the circumſtances of the Caſe, and will grant allowance, if they do require it; for equity doth moderate the Rigour of the Law; ſometimes there may be, what is juſt, and no equity in the Caſe, but ſometimes there is both juſt and equal in the ſame matter; now whereſoever there is equity againſt ſtrict Juſtice; there equity ought to take place:

AND when we conſider, how much we are beholden to the Mercies of God for our Being and daily Maintenance; we ſhall not

not think it ſafe to appear in the defence of ſtrict Juſtice, not to ſtand upon all, that the rigour of the Law can deſire; For this is the Apoſtles Rule, *Let your moderation*, that is, your Clemency and Compaſſion *be known unto all men*; it being a Habit, whereby a Man is enabled and inclined to deal according to the equitable ſenſe of the Law, and is placed betwixt the two Extremes, ἀκριβοδικαιον Rigour, or *ſummum jus* on the one hand, inſiſting too much on the Letter, and *relaxatio nimia*, remitting too much from the true ſenſe of it on the other ſide; Now both theſe Extremes, the exceſs and the defect being evidently Vices, it muſt follow, that the *Medium* betwixt them muſt be a Virtue, and have in it the Obligation of a Duty. *Strict Juſtice not to be ſtood upon.*

AND if we do not act, as it commands us; we ſhall not only depart from the Nobleneſs of a Chriſtian Spirit, but we ſhall take ſuch a courſe, as that a cancell'd Obligation may return upon us, as it did upon that wicked Servant in Saint *Matthew*; who, becauſe He did not forgive his Brother a ſmall Debt, after his Lord had ſo freely forgiven him a great one, was afterwards taken and caſt into Priſon, becauſe he had not compaſſion on his Fellow-ſervant, as his Lord had pity on him.

IN

IN all our humble Applications to God Almighty we both hope and pray, that He would *not be extreme to mark, what we have done amiſs*, but overlook our manifold Infirmities; And I dare ſay, He is very unmindful of Humane Nature it ſelf, who can harden himſelf againſt all Compaſſion to his Brethren, when at any time they are miſtaken or ſurprized.

THEREFORE let Juſt and Equal be thus ſtated; What common Reaſon or the letter of the Law will admit, may be accounted *juſt*; but *equal* conſiders all Circumſtances, and allows for Errours or any unavoidable Accidents; *To be juſt*, is to demean our ſelves according to the Laws of the Place, wherein we live; *To be equal*, is to conſider all things, that are reaſonable, and to act accordingly.

FOR this temper of Mind will render us gracious and merciful; conſequently moſt like unto God, who is *juſt and Righteous in all his ways, full of mercy and compaſſion*; For it is every ones Tenure and ſecurity; where this Virtue doth not take place; there will be nothing but Fraud and Cozenage, and every man will be unſafe; it ſupports Human Society, which otherwiſe would ſoon fall into Striſe and con-

confuſion; it is agreeable to the principles of our Natures; We were made to theſe things, and we force our ſelves, and offer violence to our Faculties, whenever we do an unjuſt Action, that is cruel or unrighteous: It is the Right of every caſe, and a man's greateſt Wiſdom is ſeen in finding that out, and his goodneſs, in complying with it; And if we keep to this Rule of doing always what is Right and Fit, we ſhall be juſtified, whenever we are ſummoned to give an account of our Actions: we ſhall be delivered from the ſeverity of Puniſhment, the end of which is either to *ſupport* Right, or to *be exemplary*, that others may be withheld from following bad Examples; In fine, the practice of this Virtue will remove from us all ſuſpicion of Arbitrarineſs; which is the fouleſt Imputation, that can be put upon any man, that he affects to maintain *Self-will*; but to live in the *practice of Equity*, gives eaſe to the Mind, and to do thus is ever well-pleaſing in the ſight of God.

WHEREAS He, who is diſpoſed to follow the heels of the Law, *may*, as the Proverb warns him, have his Teeth ſtruck out, For *Summum jus eſt ſumma injuria*; upon many emergent and unforeſeen occaſions, and

and as the circumſtances of things alter, ſo doth the Law; and many times it ſo falls out, that whoſo keeps moſt ſtrictly to the letter of it, is in danger of committing the groſſeſt Iniquities.

HITHERTO we have placed the whole ſum and ſtreſs of *Common Juſtice* in theſe two words, *Suum cuique*; yet it is moſt true, that He, who puts into a Madman's Hand his *own* Sword, is certainly the madder Perſon of the two: To murther ones own Siſter, or Mother, is the blackeſt Crime, and the moſt Savage of any, man can be guilty of; yet *Horatius Cocles* and *Oreſtes* deſerved their Pardons: Thus a thouſand Circumſtances may ariſe to mollifie the four Precepts of the Law; by reaſon of which its ſtrictneſs, may in ſome caſes be diſpenſed with.

WHEREFORE in many Commonwealths, Law and Equity have diſtinct Courts, and Supreme Powers have always challenged a Prerogative to temper the rigour of Laws; and the Style of the *Chancery* Court in *England* is *Teſte me ipſo*; by which the Prince reſerves to himſelf the moderation of the Law; therefore it is called *the King's Conſcience*, tho in the keeping of the Chancellour. And it is abſolutely

lutely neceſſary this ſhould be ſo, that through a dark and long Journey full of Briars and Brambles, we may at length come at *Equity*; For Law-ſuits muſt be uncertain, ſo long as the Lawyers ſeek not for their Judgments in their own Breaſts, but in the Precedents of former Judges; as the Ancient Judges ſought the ſame, not in their own Reaſon, but in the Laws of the Empire; beſides there is ſcarce any thing ſo clearly written, that when the cauſe thereof is forgotten, may not be wreſted by an *Ignorant Grammarian* or a *Cavelling Logician*, to the injury, or the deſtruction of an Honeſt Man.

The reaſon why Juſtice hath appeared ſo perplexed a matter.

THIS hath made *Juſtice* appear ſo perplexed a thing; the mighty Commentaries upon it have brought a Cloud upon that, which elſe would ſhine forth in all the brightneſs of Truth and Sincerity: Thus the Scripture it ſelf hath ſuffered by Expoſitions, and the ways of *Juſtice* by the craft of Advocates and Clerks have been made to look like thoſe of Fraud, myſterious and crooked: Thus *Judgment* is turned into *Wormwood*: for it is embittered by *injuſtice*, and *delays* make it ſour. But that *Juſtice*, whoſe Character we give now, is a ſweet and tender Virtue, as much an Enemy

Enemy to hard Conſtructions and ſtrained Inferences, as it is to Tortures and Racks: Patience and Gravity always attend it; which prepare its way to a juſt Sentence, as God uſeth to prepare *his*, by *raiſing Valleys*, and *taking down Hills*; ſo doth *Juſtice* encourage the *modeſt*, and ſuppreſſes the *preſumptuous* and *bold*; chiefly thoſe, who are *contentious*, and ſuch, as are full of Shifts and Tricks, whereby they would pervert her direct Courſes and ſtrive to bring her into oblique Lines and Labyrinths: For theſe Men would make her Courts like to the *Buſh* in the Fable, to which while the Sheep fly for ſhelter in bad Weather, they are ſure to loſe part of their *Fleece:* but where *untainted Juſtice* prevails, there undoubtedly is true Policy; which are ſo far from having an Antipathy to each other, that they are like the Spirits and the Sinews, one moves with the other continually: And that Throne, which hath theſe two for its *Supporters*, muſt be like *Solomon's*, ſupported by *Lyons* on both ſides, Creatures moſt vigilant againſt all On-ſets, and moſt couragious, to reſiſt them.

Atheiſts make Juſtice an Artificial thing.

BUT *Atheiſtical Politicians* make *Juſtice* an *artificial thing*, framed only by Men and Civil Laws; as if it was the peculiar priviledg

vileds of Mankind, to be born free from all Duty and Morality: Thus they ſlander Human Nature, and make a *Villain* of it. For if there be nothing in its own Nature unlawful or unjuſt, then muſt the lawfulneſs or the unlawfulneſs of all Actions depend upon a Man's Will; But by this means no Laws could ever be eſtabliſhed in the World; becauſe a man might by his *Will* diſoblige himſelf, and make an *unlawful* Action *lawful*, as he pleaſes: Beſides, if nothing is unjuſt by Nature, then there can be no Laws of Nature; and if there be none of theſe, then there can be no *Covenants*; becauſe *Covenants* without *natural Juſtice* are meer *words* and *breath*; And if there are no *Covenants* founded upon natural Juſtice, it is as impoſſible to gather mankind into Bodies Politick, as it is to tie knots in the Wind or the Water.

No Covenants without natural Juſtice.

MOREOVER, If the real Obligation to obey the Laws of *Juſtice*, be only from the Fear of *puniſhment*, then might men juſtly break any Laws, for their own advantage, if they can reaſonably promiſe themſelves *Impunity*: And whenever they have Power, they may oppoſe Civil Authority, which according to this *Hypotheſis* is an *artificial thing* and nothing elſe but *Force*: If it be

ſo, then there could never be any Government, which *violence* cannot, but ſome *Natural Bond* muſt hold together: which *Bond* can be no other, *than Natural Juſtice*; which is not a Creature of the People, and of men's *Wills*, but hath a ſtamp of the Divinity upon it: For had not God and Nature made a City, had not they made Superiority and Subjection with their reſpective Duty and Obligation; neither Art, nor Force could ever have done it: Wherefore to deny the mutual reſpects and *rationes rerum* to be unchangeable, will ſpoil God himſelf of that *univerſal Rectitude*, which is the greateſt perfection of his Nature; For then *Juſtice*, *Faithfulneſs*, *Mercy* and *Goodneſs*, will be but contingent and arbitrary Iſſues of the *divine Will*; But if *Juſtice* be, as moſt certainly it is, an indiſpenſible Perfection in God, then there is an Eternal Relation of Right and Equity betwixt every Being, and the giving it that, which is its propriety; if *Faithfulneſs*, then there is an indiſpenſible agreement betwixt a Promiſe, and the performance of it; if *Mercy*, then there is an unalterable Suitableneſs or Harmony betwixt an indigent Creature and Pity; if *Goodneſs* and *Bounty*, then there is an everlaſting proportion, be-

between *fulneſs*, and its ſpreading it ſelf abroad for the benefit of the Creation. If theſe things be not Eternal and indiſpenſible Perfections; then their Contraries, *injuſtice*, *unfaithfulneſs*, *cruelty*, *malice*, and whatever goes to the conſtitution of *Hell* it ſelf, might have been made the higheſt Perfections of the Divine Nature; which is ſuch a Blaſphemy, as cannot be named without trembling.

To conclude; Should we endeavour to deliver, what *Ariſtotle* hath left us concerning this *Virtue*, having ſpent about *Juſtice* alone the whole fifth Book of his *Ethicks*, we might prove tedious, if not infinite; much more, ſhould we follow thoſe endleſs Diſcourſes, which men have put together by way of Comment upon the Text of their *Civil Law*: The Wiſe Emperour, who was the founder of their *Law*, as foreſeeing the miſchiefs, that would thence ariſe, ſtrictly commanded, that nothing ſhould be written by way of Expoſition, but only as he called them, *Paratitla*: long time was this Charge obſerved, ere there was any line written upon this Subject; but as ſoon as ſome forward Men had broken up the Banks, that were ſet them, there iſſued forth ſuch a Torrent of Writers,

The infinite Comments upon Juſtice condemned.

ters, as (Divinity only excepted) have been hardly found in any other Science. It is not much more, than 400 years, ſince that *Irnerius* and *Accurſius* began to write; but there followed upon them ſuch a Rabble of Scribblers, that our whole Libraries have been too little to hold them; ſo fertile have their wits been, either in opening the paths of *Juſtice*, or in contriving *by-ways* to *injuſtice*: if therefore you would hear more concerning *Juſtice*, I muſt recommend you to *Ariſtotle*, or to the Interpreters of the *Law*, if at leaſt their multitude do not confound you: But this obſervation we may make in the courſe of common Juſtice, that the *written Law* is like to a ſtiff *Rule of Steel* or Iron, which will not be applied *to the faſhion* of the Stone or Timber, whereunto it is laid; and Equity (as *Ariſtotle* ſaith well) is like to the *leaden Rule* of the *Lesbian Artificers*, which they might at pleaſure bend to every Stone of whatſoever figure: And that we may conclude this Head in the Language of *Ariſtotle*, out of an *Arithmetical Government* (as we may call it) by rigour of *Law*, and *that Geometrical* Judgment at the pleaſure of a *Chancellour*, well tempered together, the *ſweeteſt harmony* of *Juſtice* muſt needs ariſe.

Of

Of Intellectual VIRTUES.

FROM Virtues of a more troubleſom and tumultuous nature; for ſuch all *Moral* Virtues are, which conſiſt in the Moderation of our *Paſſions*, that are nothing elſe, but *Winds* and *Floods* troubling our Quiet; We come now to a more ſerene and peaceable Order of Virtues, which we call Intellectual, and conſiſt in that part of the Soul, which hath Reaſon and Underſtanding: Theſe are in number Five, *Ars, Prudentia, Scientia, Intellectus, Sapientia:* For all things, about which we buſie our ſelves, are ranged under theſe three Heads, *Profit, Peace*, and *Truth*; Profit, which is the God of the World, is the proper Subject of that Virtue, we call Art, and is nothing elſe, but diligence in geting a livelihood and means to ſubſiſt. *Profit the Subject of Art.*

THE Virtue, which is employed in managing our Peace, we call *Prudence*; for all endeavour for quiet and good order, and decent procuring and bringing about our induſtry for livelihood, for mutual aſſociation, and all other helps of good order *Peace the Subject of Prudence,*

and fair demeanour amongſt our ſelves, either in *ſingle Life* or in *Families*, or in *Commonwealths*, which are nothing elſe, but Collections of Families, yea of managing War it ſelf, ſince *War* is never undertaken but for Peace; all theſe are the offspring and Iſſue of *Prudence*.

Truth the Subject of Science, &c.

THE laſt thing, which we labor about, and indeed is moſt proper and agreeable to the rational Soul, is Truth, the moſt excellent of all other things, if we know how truly to value it: To this belong the other Three Virtues, Science, Underſtanding and Wiſdom, all which ſpend themſelves in the inveſtigation of Truth.

BY the way, I have often wondered, how Juſtice eſcaped out of the number of Intellectual Virtues; for it hath very little in it, why we ſhould account it among the Morals; ſince it is not converſant in the moderation of any Paſſion, or in holding a Mediocrity betwixt two extremes, which two things formally conſtitute every Moral Virtue; but every Act of it is purely Rational, and partakes little with the ſenſitive Part: But thus it hath pleaſed our great Maſters in this Faculty, we now ſpeak of, to range the Virtues; and having Diſcourſed of Juſtice among the Morals, we will

will take no farther notice of it, but deſcend forthwith to the explication of the Intellectuals; and Firſt,

Of ART.

NOW we enter the *Work-houſe* of Virtue, where Art manages all the Tools and Materials; and in Humane Life, we are much more beholden to thoſe, who invented *Plowing* and *Sowing*, than we are to the finer Wits, who have conveyed to us nothing but the abſtracted Ideas of Science, and the aiery Notions of Metaphyſicks; which are like the curious Argumentations, concerning quantity and motion in natural Philoſophy; if they only hover aloof and are not ſquared to particular Matters, they may give an empty ſatisfaction, but no benefit, and rather ſerve to ſwell, than fill the Mind: But whatever we ſee in Cities or Houſes, above the firſt Wildneſs of Fields, the Meanneſs of Cottages, and the Nakedneſs of Men, muſt be aſcribed to the Works of Art: Therefore we are now to ſhew, how excellent and uſeful Virtue is, in the Eſtabliſhed ways of Life: For altho the Studyes of Men are various, according to the difference of thoſe Cal- *The work-houſe of Virtue.*

lings, to which they apply themſelves, or the tempers of the places, wherein they Live; yet the whole Trade and Buſineſs among them, doth depend as much upon Common-honeſty, as War doth upon Diſcipline; and without which, all would break up. Merchants would turn *Pedlars*, and Soldiers *Thieves*. But upon the Principles of Honeſty, we work chearfully, our Life is pleaſant, and we are conſtant to our Purpoſes, when the following of Profit, without regard to theſe Principles, will bring continual vexation upon us. Wherefore *Tully* in his Offices, blames the corruption of Time and Cuſtom, that the Word *Profitable*, ſhould be perverted inſenſibly to the ſignification of ſomewhat, that may be ſeparated from *Honeſty*; as if any thing could be *profitable*, that were not *honeſt*, or any thing *honeſt* without being *profitable*; an errour of the moſt pernicious conſequence imaginable to the Life of Man: From the not underſtanding this matter aright, it often comes to paſs, that we have a cunning Artificial ſort of People, in great admiration, miſtaking Craft for Wiſdom: This opinion is by all means to be rooted out from among Men, and this following perſwaſion, erected in the

The Buſineſs of Life depends upon common Honeſty.

ſtead

ſtead of that; there is no compaſſing the end we aim at, by fraudulent and indirect courſes, but only by juſt Dealings and honeſt Counſels.

So that if that be true, which is commonly obſerved, that Men are wont to prove ſuch kinds of *Chriſtians*, as they were *Men* before, and that Converſion does not deſtroy, but exalt our Tempers; it may well be concluded, that the diligent Man in his Employment, is nearer to make a modeſt, and an humble Chriſtian, than the Man of Speculative Science, who is proud of his Knowledg; for a true Preparation for the next Life, is not at all inconſiſtent with Men's conſulting of their happineſs in this World, or being employed about Earthly Affairs; the honeſt purſuit of the neceſſaries, and of the conveniences of a mortal Condition, by Juſt and regular Ways, is by no means contradictory to the moſt real and ſevere Duties of a Chriſtian; it is true indeed, an irregular proſecution of Profit or Gain, is an offence to Religion; but ſo it is alſo to Right Reaſon, and Nature it ſelf: And it is a wrong Conception of the State of Grace, if Men believe, that when they enter upon it, they muſt preſently caſt away all the thoughts and

The diligent Man makes the beſt Chriſtian.

and desires after the Possessions of this World; but when we are bidden not to *think our own thoughts*, it is not intended, that we should forbear all natural Actions and Inclinations; so it must be lawful for the strictest Christian, by the help of honest Arts, to provide for the necessities of this Life; else the condition of Men would be worse, than that of the Beasts, that perish; seeing to them it is natural to seek out for all the ways of their own preservation.

Christianity approves of the works of honest Art.

It must be confessed, that there may be an *excess*, as well as *defect*, in men's Opinions of Holiness; and then I will make no Scruple to say, that the virtuous Man defiles not his Mind, when he labors in the works of an honest Art to advance his profit; the diversion it gives him, will stand with the greatest constancy, and the delight of pursuing it, with the truth and reality of Religion: Which is indeed an Heavenly Thing, but not utterly averse from making use of the Rules of humane Arts; wherefore it is not the best service, that can be done to Christianity, to place its chief Precepts so much out of the way, as to make them unfit for Men of business, whereas the best part of Religion is Practical, and Her chiefest Precepts are those, that govern

govern the private Motions and Paſſions of our Minds; thoſe are its moſt excellent Rules, which calm our Affections and Conquer our Vices; And the works of practical Religion are no leſs wonderful, than thoſe of Art, which we now ſpeak of; for in whatever place of the World Arts have been deſtroyed, Barbarity hath prevailed; inſomuch that if *Ariſtotle*, and *Plato*, and *Demoſthenes*, ſhould now ariſe in Greece again, they would ſtand amazed at the horrible Devaſtation of that, which was the *Mother of Arts*, and at the ignorance as well as incivility, that hath taken its ſeat: And if *Cæſar* and *Tacitus* ſhould return to Life, they would ſcarce believe this *Britain*, and *Gaul*, and *Germany*, to be the ſame, which they deſcribed; they would now behold 'em covered over with Cities and Palaces, which were in their time overrun with Forreſts and Thickets; They would ſee all manner of Arts Flouriſhing in theſe Countries, where the chief *Art*, that was Practiſed when they Lived, was that Barbarous one of *Painting their Bodies*, to make them look more Terrible in Battel.

Barbarity prevails when Arts are Deſtroyed.

HENCE it is remarkable, that where-ever Arts have been Plante,d there Humanity,

Religion and good Manners Fourish, where Art is encouraged.

manity, good Manners, and the Seeds of Religion have encreased; and so long as there remains any corner of the World without *Civility*, *Artificers* are the most likely and fittest Persons, to subdue the Rudenesses of Mankind: And it was said of Civil Government by *Plato*, that the World will be best ruled, when either Philosophers shall be chosen Kings, or Kings shall have Philosophical Minds; And I will affirm the like of *Philosophy*; it will then attain to Perfection, when either the followers of *Art* shall have Philosophical Heads, or the Philosophers shall have Mechanical Hands; for thus the conceptions of Men of Knowledg, which are wont to soar too high, will be made to descend into the *Material World*; and the Flegmatick imaginations of Men of Trade, which use to grovel too much on the Ground, will be exalted: And the power as well as the value of *Art* may be proved by one instance, and it is of *Archimedes*, who did wonders by applying his skill in the Mathematicks to the *Practices* and *Motions of mannal Trades*; his success was so prodigious herein, that the true contrivances of his Hands did exceed all the *fabulous strength*, which either the *Antient* Stories, or *modern* Romances

Romances have beſtowed on their *Heroes*: He alone ſuſtained the burden of his Falling Country; He alone kept the *Romans* at a bay, to whom the whole World was to yield: For neither Seas nor Mountains, neither Fleets nor Armies could reſiſt the Force of his Engines, which are the greateſt Powers of Nature, and of Men.

Where Arts abound, there are Riches.

As therefore thoſe Men are moſt happy, who are ſtill labouring to improve their minds in *moral Virtues*, which have ſuch a mutual dependence, that no man can attain to *perfection* in any one of them, without ſome degree of the other; ſo that Country is ſtill the richeſt and moſt powerful, which entertains moſt Manufactures; For the *hands* of men Employed *are true* Riches, and where this is done there will never a ſufficient matter for Profit be wanting; but where the Ways of Life are few, the Fountains of Profit will be poſſeſs'd by Few, and ſo all the reſt muſt live in *Idleneſs*, on which inevitably enſues Poverty.

For *Idleneſs* is that defect which is oppoſite to *Art*; for the *Arts* of men's hands are ſubject to the ſame infirmity with *Empire, the beſt Art* of their minds, of which it is truly obſerved, that whenever it comes to ſtand ſtill,

Idleneſs the cauſe of very ill effects.

ſtill, and ceaſes to advance, it will ſoon go back and decreaſe: So if we ſhall caſt an Eye on all the Tempeſts, which ariſe within our Breaſts, and conſider the Cauſes and Remedies of all the violent Deſires, malicious Envies, intemperate Joys, and irregular Griefs, by which the lives of moſt men become miſerable or guilty, we ſhall find, that they are chiefly produced by *Idleneſs*, and may be moſt naturally cured by *Buſineſs*: For whatever *Art* ſhall be able to buſie the minds of men with a conſtant courſe of *innocent works*, or to fill them with as vigorous and pleaſant Images, as thoſe ill Impreſſions, by which they are deluded; it will certainly have a ſurer effect in the compoſing and purifying of their thoughts, than all the rigid *Precepts* of the *Stoical* or the empty diſtinctions of the *Peripatetick Moraliſts.*

The Diſeaſes of the mind cured by buſineſs.

Now then it is required in that *Study*, which ſhall attempt according to the force of Nature, to cure the Diſeaſes of the Mind; that it keep it from *idleneſs* by full and earneſt Employments, and that it poſſeſs it with innocent, various, laſting, and even ſenſible Delights: therefore where Induſtry and Trade do fill the Thoughts, as it does the whole Soul of the People in *Holland*;

land; you ſhall find none of thoſe Diſtempers, that infect the minds of the Slothful and unactive; Strangers among them are apt to complain of the *Spleen*, but thoſe of the Country ſeldom or never; which I take to proceed from their being *ever buſie*, and eaſily ſatisfied; For this ſeems to be the Diſeaſe of People, that are *idle*, and is incident to all men at one time or other, from the Fumes of indigeſtion, from the common alterations of ſome inſenſible degrees in Health and Vigour; or from ſome changes, or approaches of change in Winds and Weather, which affect the finer Spirits of the Brain, before they grow ſenſible to other parts; and are apt to alter the ſhapes or colours of whatever is repreſented to us by our Imaginations, whilſt we are ſo affected; yet this effect is not ſo ſtrong, but that Buſineſs or intention of Thought, commonly either reſiſts or diverts it: but ſuch as are *idle*, or know not, from whence theſe Changes ariſe, and *trouble* their Heads with Notions *and Schemes of general happineſs or unhappineſs* in Life; upon every ſuch Fit they begin reflections on the condition of their Bodies, their Souls, or their Fortunes; And as all things are then repreſented in the worſt Colours, they fall into melan-

melancholy Apprehenſions of one or other, and ſometimes of them all; theſe make deep impreſſion on their minds, and are not eaſily worn out by the natural returns of good Humour: But this is a Diſeaſe too refined for a People, whoſe Heads are bent upon laborious *Arts*; they are well, when they are not *ill*, and pleaſed, when they are not *troubled*; they ſeek their happineſs in the common Eaſes and Commodities of Life; never amuſing themſelves with the more Speculative contrivances of *Paſſion*, or *reſentments* of Pleaſure.

WHICH brings me to the other *Extreme*, that is contrary to *Art* in the Exceſs: which is that Errour of mens Labours in all Ages, when they have ſtill directed them to improve the *arts* of *Pleaſure*, more than thoſe of *Profit*: Hence it is that Men are Extravagant in painting their Coaches; when their Heads would be better employed in inventing new Frames for Carts and Ploughs; they are at a prodigious Charge for the Faſhions of Cloaths, when they might ſpend their time better in deviſing new materials for Cloathing, or in perfecting thoſe we have; the Furniture and magnificence of Houſes is riſen to a vaſt Expence within our memory; But Men would

The miſchief of improving Arts of Pleaſure more than thoſe of Profit.

would improve their time much better, and exerciſe a far more uſeful *Art*, in ſtudying how to order *Timber* better, *harden Stone*, *improve Mortar* and *make firmer Bricks*: If men would be perſuaded to follow the beneficial Arts of Life, and not be guided by vain Fancies, we ſhould not be ſo overwhelmed, as we are, by *Gaudineſs* and *Superfluity*; ſo debauched by *Pride* and *Luxury*.

Now then I will proceed to exhort the Man who hath moſt leiſure to proſecute earneſtly all the uſeful *Arts of Life*; and for his Encouragement in theſe Ways, I will briefly lay down before him the Advantages He will gain by them.

The Advantage Gentlemen have above others.

Firſt, THE uſual courſe of Life of the *Gentleman* eſpecially in *England* is ſo well placed, like *Virtue* between two *Extremes*, between the troubleſom noiſe of *pompous Magnificence*, and the baſeneſs of Avaricious *Sordidneſs*; that the true happineſs of living according to the Rules and pleaſure of uncorrupt Nature, is more in their power, than any others: To them in this Way of Life there can nothing offer it ſelf, which may not be turned to a Philoſophical uſe; If they will conſider the Heavens, or the motions of the Stars, they have in the

Country a quieter *Hemiſphere*, and a clearer Air for that purpoſe; if they will obſerve the generations of living Creatures, their Stables and their Ponds, their Parks and their Kennels will give 'em Eternal matter of Enquiry: If they would advance their Fruits or their Plants, then the Paſtures and Orchards, the Groves and Gardens furniſh them with perpetual Contemplations. And from their Sports, Hunting, Hawking, Fiſhing, Fowling, they may receive as much ſolid Profit, as they do Delight.

Men moſt at leiſure may much advance the happineſs of mankind by loving ſome Art or buſineſs.

FOR if the *Gentleman*, who is ſo much at leiſure, can be brought to the love of ſome *Art* or *buſineſs*, the World would become more active and induſtrious; conſequently the happineſs of Mankind would be much promoted, for that the minds of all ſorts of men would be ſo taken up in ſome profitable *Art* or other, that they would not have time to think of thoſe things, that diſturb the peace of Human Societies: And let 'em not imagine, that Buſineſs doth debaſe them, or corrupt their Blood, becauſe where *Arts* do moſt flouriſh, there the greateſt Riches and power are eſtabliſhed; And if that be true, that every thing is preſerved and reſtored by the ſame means, which did beget it at firſt; they may

may then believe. that their preſent *Honour* cannot be maintained by intemperate Pleaſures, or the gaudy ſhews of Pomp, but by true Labours and induſtrious Virtue; and if we enquire into the Ways of *Life* of ſome of the Greateſt Men, that have lived in times paſt, we ſhall find, that amidſt the Government of Nations, the diſpatch of Armies, and noiſe of Victories, ſome of them diſdained not to *work with* a Spade, to dig the Earth, and to cultivate with triumphing *Hands*, the *Vine*, and the *Olive*.

THESE indeed were Times, of which it were well if we had more Footſteps, than in ancient Authors; then the minds of Men *were innocent* and *ſtrong* and *bountiful*, as the Earth, in which they laboured; then the Vices of Human Nature were not their Pride, but their Scorn; Then *Virtue was it ſelf*, neither adulterated by the *falſe Idols* of Goodneſs; nor puff'd up by the empty Forms of Greatneſs; as it has been in ſome Countries of *Europe*, which are arrived at that corruption of Manners, that perhaps ſome *ſevere Moraliſts* will think it had been more needful for me to perſuade the Men of this Age, to *continue Men*, than to turn *Philoſophers*.

Conquerours and other Great Men have laboured with their hands.

Diligence hath done the moſt wonderful things.

HOWEVER there is nothing, whoſe promoting is ſo eaſie, as *Diligence*, when it is once ſet on Foot; an Inſtance whereof is the *Hollanders*; At firſt they were as *Lazy*, as ſome others; but when by the number of their People they were forced to look abroad, to Trade, to Fiſh, and labour in the Mechanicks; they ſoon found the *ſweetneſs*, as well as *Toyl* of their *Diligence*; their *ſucceſſes* and their *Riches* ſtill added new heat to their Minds; and thus they have continued *improving*, till they have not only diſgraced, but terrified their Neighbours, by their *induſtry*. The true Method of encreaſing of which is by that courſe, which ſome have begun in *Philoſophy*, by *works* and *endeavours*, and not by the preſcriptions of Words or Paper-Commands: For if our Labourers had been as diligent, as our managers of Law-Suits, we had proved not only the moſt *laborious*, but the beſt *temper'd* Nation upon Earth: when the moſt diſagreeing Parties may lay aſide their Names of Diſtinction, and calmly conſpire in a mutual *agreement* of *Labours*; a *Bleſſing*, which anſwers that *Evangelical Promiſe*, that the *Lion* and the *Lamb* ſhall lie *down together*; For in the *Arts* of *Life* men do not only converſe without Violence or Fear,

Fear, but they *work* and *think* in Company, and conſer their help to each others Advantage: For ſhould we look back to the beginning of the World, all would appear an *America* to us; an uncultivated Deſart, a wild Habitation; neither had Man any *property*, before his *labour* made him a Title: Wherefore the firſt *Commoners* of the Earth did employ their Heads about getting the neceſſary ſupports of *Life*, and there ended their *deſires*; the later Inventions of *Gold*, *Silver* and *Diamonds* being things, that Phancy or Agreement hath put a price upon more, than real Uſe: *Nature* unaſſiſted by *Art* did once furniſh all the neceſſities of mankind, but ſince they have multiplied ſo much, many *Arts* have been found out, not only to anſwer the daily *Needs*, but the many *conveniences* of Human Life: Hence it is, that we have now *Bread*, *Wine*, and *Cloathing*, in the room of *Acorns*, *Water*, and *Skins*: for whatever valuation the three firſt bear above the latter, is altogether owing to the Hand of *Laborious Art*; which how much they exceed the other in *intrinſick worth*, as ſoon as we have computed; we ſhall then ſee, how much the *devices and operations of Art* have made the far greateſt part of the value

All property did ariſe from Labour.

of Things, we enjoy in this World: For *Nature* doth only afford materials for *Art* to work upon: ſo that when we reckon into every Loaf of Bread, that is eaten, the pains and Skill of the many Artificers before Corn is wrought into Bread, we muſt admire the effects of Induſtry, and the Wiſdom of God in his Wiſe diſpoſal of this part of his Creation, who hath given it to the uſe of the *induſtrious* and *Rational*, not to the Phancy or covetouſneſs, of the *ſenſual* or the *Contentious*.

HENCE we may infer the neceſſity *of a Calling* in all Orders of Men for their better leading a profitable and virtuous Life; For Man is very active by Nature, and if He hath no Vocation to buſie himſelf in, he muſt needs be doing ſomewhat, that is Evil; as in the caſe of *lazy Monks* and begging *Fryars*, thoſe *ſlow Bellies*, who by their *unlawful Vows* and *affected poverty* renounce all honeſt Induſtry, and enrich themſelves not only with the *Widows Houſes*, but with the fatteſt Lordſhips of a Country; or in the caſe of thoſe, who think themſelves priviledged from taking pains by their *Birth*, *Breeding*, and *Eſtates*; by which means their whole Life is ſpent either in doing nothing, or that, which is worſe:

Now

Now theſe Perſons ſhould look into the Hiſtories of their Anceſtors, and obſerve by what ſteps they raiſed their Houſes to the height of Gentry, or Nobility; it was done either by *ſerving in the Camp*, *ſweating at the Bar*, *waiting at* the *Court*, *adventuring on the Seas*, or by *bartering in the Shop*; If it be ſo, then they uſurp their *Arms*, if they do not inherit their *Virtues*: And if Mankind would judg truly of their Condition, as to the account they muſt give to God of their ſeveral *Talents*, the conſideration of their *works* rather, than of their *diſpoſitions*, will afford 'em the beſt Aſſurance; becauſe their Gifts and Abilities both of Body and Mind, being *in the brain* or *hand*, are at a greater certainty, than their Inclinations, which are ſeated *in the Heart*, that is *deceitful above all things*.

Of PRUDENCE.

AFTER Men have choſen an *Active Life*, the next, and chiefeſt Virtue, they are to ſeek for, is *Prudence*, to guide them in the juſt government of their Actions: The Philoſophers are very much puz-

Prudence the beſt guide of our Actions.

zled about the Nature of this *Virtue*; ſome will have it, that we cannot be Happy, if any the leaſt Sorrow and Trouble comes near us; therefore they adviſe their *prudent Man* quite to leave the World, which is beſet with theſe *Thorns*; they would not have him converſe with Mankind or enter upon any Employment; ſo in the caſe of *Temperance*, they cannot tell, how any man ſhould practice this *Virtue*, unleſs He wholly reject all Invitations to *Feaſts* and *Banquets*.

Good and Diſcreet the ſame.

Now the *Prudence*, which we recommend, is very different from that which the Philoſophers have preſcribed, and is always joined with Goodneſs; For *good* and *diſcreet* are terms convertible; No Man can be indeed good without *Prudence*; no Man *prudent*, unleſs He be good; theſe Virtues ought to accompany each other; and when they do ſo, they are the beſt defence a Man hath againſt Griefs, Troubles, Loſſes, Diſappointments, and all the Evils of this *mortal State*.

We are therefore to enquire, what this *Prudence* is by which we muſt guide our Affairs; in general this may be ſaid of it; that it is that Virtue, which muſt govern all the reſt; to which they owe their Value,

Value, and their Beauty; as will more fully appear, if we conſider, that by *Prudence* alone Men are directed.

Firſt, To pitch upon a *right*, and a *worthy End* to all their Actions.

Secondly, To make choice of fit and proper Means to compaſs *this End*.

Thirdly, To be diligent, and perſevere in the uſe of thoſe Means, till they attain *their End*.

For He, who propounds little deſigns to himſelf, hath a mean and ungenerous Spirit; becauſe he aims at that, which is not worth his ſeeking; and the more earneſtly he purſues it, the greater is his loſs and diſappointment.

Secondly, If a Man doth not accommodate proper Means for the obtaining of a Noble End, he ſtarves his Cauſe and declares, that he doth not know the *worth* of his *own Deſign*; ſo that his propoſing a good End, is more by Chance than Election; when he hath not *Prudence* to follow this End with fit and ſufficient Means.

Thirdly, Tho his End be good, and the Means proper to effect it; yet if He be not conſtant to himſelf, but grow impatient of delay and weary of his Poaſt, before

fore he is fully poſſeſs'd of the End, he drives at; his *Prudence* muſt be concluded to de *defective.*

BUT put theſe *three all together*, and in whomſoever they are found, I may affirm, that he is a Perſon *well qualified with Prudence*, either *for this*, or *the other World.*

FOR as the *prudent Man* for this World is ever buſie in contriving the moſt probable Ways of gaining the moſt precious things of it; his Head is ever at work; his thoughts are watchful and intent; his whole mind is in this very matter, to promote his Fortune, and to ſettle his Intereſt; ſo the *prudent Man* in the Exerciſes of *Virtue*, caſts off all *ſloth* and *negligence*; ſpends his hours in Meditation upon the tranſitory State of the beſt Things here, and the certainty of Death and Judgment; ſo that He is conſtantly employed in ſtating his Accounts for this *great Day*, and in examining himſelf, how he is *prepared* for it: As the *prudent Man* for this World, who reſolves to be Rich, conſiders, that He muſt then be very induſtrious in his Calling, and very frugal in his Expences; that He muſt deny his Eaſe, and his Appetites, and exactly *keep* his Accounts; For He, who indulges his *Belly* and his *ſleep*, takes not the right way

The behaviour of a prudent Man in Religion.

to

to encreaſe his Eſtate; And as He, who hath an Ambition to be highly honoured or preſer'd, will take care to offend no Body, but demean himſelf Civilly; will put up and conceal many Affronts; will do all acts of *Courteſie* and *beneficence*, that He can; As another, whoſe *Genius* leads him to ſearch for *Knowledg*, knows the *directeſt way* to it is *ſedulous Study*, to peruſe good *Books*, frequent the beſt *Company*, and to render all uſeful to himſelf by *ſober Contemplation*: So the *prudent Man* in Virtue aims at the Enjoyment of God's Favour and *Eternal Life* with him; therefore He applies himſelf heartily to the fitteſt Means for this End, which is to be *holy*, and to *do good*; to ſerve God faithfully, and to make uſe of all Opportunities of *redeeming* his time; therefore thinking much of *Heaven*, and hoping to land himſelf *ſafely there*, He will never *ſteer* his Courſe by a *falſe Compaſs*, by imagining, that he is in the *right way*, when he is of ſuch a Party, when He can diſpute hotly for this and that Opinion, or when He ſpends all his Zeal upon thoſe things, that *periſh in the uſing*, and never go beyond this preſent State: As the *prudent Man* for this World doth not content himſelf with chuſing proper Means to *the Ends*,

Ends, he follows; but when he is ſatisfied that the Means, he hath choſen, are fit and ſuitable, he is never diſcouraged or baffled out of them by any difficulties whatſoever; For inſtance, No hardſhip diſheartens the Man, who deſigns to get Riches; He ſlights all the Labours and Cares in his Way, becauſe he is ſtedfaſtly bent upon the acquiſition of his Deſires; And as another Man, who is ſtrongly inclined to become Eminent in all ſorts of Learning, and to underſtand all Matters, that have been before him, knows well, that his Candle muſt never go out; that by *pains* and *watchings* he muſt contract pale Looks, and a ſickly Body; yet he is not caſt down by any of theſe conſiderations: So the *prudent Man* in the buſineſs of Virtue, is ſure, that if he doth *good* and lives *well*, he ſhall be happy; therefore he values not the Reproaches of bad men, nor the Afflictions that are to be endured; For he will never be beaten off from his intended purpoſe by any ſuch or greater diſcouragements: As a Wiſe Man for this World looks upon it, as a notorious Mark of *Folly*, for a Man to run upon any thing at all Adventures; as He is wary and ſuſpicious, ſo that he will not truſt his Fortune in every Bodies hands, nor take the Coun-

A virtuous and prudent Man values not Reproaches.

Counſel of a Man, whom he thinks not to be Honeſt, or that he imagins, will impoſe upon him: So the *prudent* Perſon for the cauſe of Virtue, builds his Faith and Hope for a better World with as much care and caution; therefore He is not apt to be miſled by every Impoſtor, but contemns thoſe Mountebanks in Religion, who by fair Stories, and ſpecious Gulleries, *wheedle men* out of their Senſe and Reaſon: This he doth, becauſe He is as careful of his Religion, and as watchful againſt Cheats, as the cunning man for this World is wont to be for advancing his ſecular Ends and Intereſts: For which purpoſe he will watch the proper Seaſon of doing any thing, and will never let it flip; So the *prudent Man* in the Warfare of *Virtue* lays hold of all opportunities for the benefit of his Soul; He makes uſe of the preſent time, and conſiders, if his Work be not done now, it will never be done at all.

A Religious prudent man is not eaſily miſled.

So far the *Parallel* goes between a *prudent Man* for this World and for Virtue; But here we cannot but bewail the ill State of things, that Men ſhould ſtrive to be more diſcreet in the little Affairs of this Life, than they are in matters of much more importance to them; the unreaſonable-

nableneſs of which will appear in theſe four particulars.

The unreaſonableneſs of being more prudent for this world, than for virtue.

Firſt it is manifeſt, that a good Man hath a nobler End to purſue, than the Men of this World can pretend to; for how low a deſign is it! how unworthy a rational Being, to heap up Wealth, when he knows not how ſoon he may be taken away from it, or that waſte away and leave him: With an ambitious Perſon it is juſt ſo, he hath laboured all his days to become Great and Honorable; when he hath effected it, his Name is only toſſ'd too and frō by the envy of the World; but ſuppoſing that Riches could be durable, or that Honor were a certain thing; yet the Poſſeſſions of this Earth in their moſt flouriſhing condition, are not to be compared with the enjoyments of a virtuous Man; which are chiefly, to have peace with God, and with his own mind; Now if a Virtuous Man hath a greater and more deſirable End of his Actions, it is very unreaſonable, that he ſhould be outdone in prudence or care, in the working out his Salvation.

Secondly, As a virtuous Man hath the beſt end, ſo the means, that he hath to it, are much more certain, than all the methods of the World are: For *Solomon* hath aſſured

aſſured, us that here the Race is not always to the ſwift nor the Battel to the ſtrong; one in all likelihood would think, that the ſwifteſt *ſhould winn the Race, and the ſtrongeſt, the Battel*; yet the wiſeſt Man, and the beſt Judge of the true valuation of all things below, hath determined quite otherwiſe; the beſt humane means, tho never ſo well fitted to their ends, do often miſcarry; for after a Man hath run the utmoſt dangers, and hath ſpent his life in continual care for an abundance of Worldly Goods; a *thouſand accidents* may and do fall out to deveſt him of it; when another hath uſed all his Art and Wit to build up a reputation, a *vulgar breath* ſhall blaſt it all: Whereas the means, which the *Lovers* of Virtue uſe to their end, will never fail them; for never any one was diſappointed of a peaceable Mind, who ever was ſo prudent, as to manage the courſe of his Life *by the Rules* of Virtue; never any failed of the Favour of God, who had ſo much diſcretion, as to obey his Commandments; nor did ever any miſs of Eternal Life, who were ſo wiſe for themſelves, as to labor after it.

Thirdly, THERE is no more difficulty in the means of obtaining the reward of Vir-

Virtue, which is both preſent and future Happineſs, than there is in thoſe ways, which the crafty Men of this World uſe to bring their deſigns about; therefore it is ſtill more unaccountable, that they ſhould take more pains in their way, than the Diſciples of *Virtue* do in theirs; beſides it is often much more difficult to raiſe a credit in the World, than it is to get the Favour of God, or that Peace of Conſcience, which a conformity to the Precepts of Virtue will certainly afford us: Health of Body is not acquired *without* warineſs and continual circumſpection; it is far eaſier, for a Man to entertain himſelf in virtuous Contemplations; for God hath not ſet our happineſs at difficult terms; but the way to it is ſmoother, than we are apt to imagine; it being as eaſie to be ſober, as to be otherwiſe; to be juſt, as unrighteous; the Rules of Virtue are not ſo rigid, as Men uſually apprehend them to be; therefore it is the moſt unpardonable folly, if they be not as induſtrious in the practices of Virtue, as they often are in the proſecution of vitious and naughty Purpoſes.

It is eaſier for a Man to be virtuous, than vitious.

Fourthly, By being diligent and diſcreet in the exerciſe of moral Virtue, we commonly ſecure the happineſs of this preſent World,

World, as well as the next, the better to our ſelves; for the Men, who regard only this World, may be ſure, that they ſhall not *find any felicity in a* future Life, becauſe they have *taken no care about* it, and frequently they loſe this World alſo; For if they follow *Shadows*, they muſt needs loſe the *Subſtance*; but if they lay faſt hold of the Subſtance, they muſt conſequently poſſeſs the Shadow; by which I mean, that if they would be wrought upon to lead a virtuous Life in good earneſt; they would not only ſecure their Intereſt in another World, but they would ſucceed better in the Affairs of this; For, ſo our Saviour hath ſaid, *ſeek ye firſt the Kingdom of Heaven and his Righteouſneſs, and all other things ſhall be added unto you:* Therefore let us be Wiſe, and make *Virtue*, our main deſign, becauſe length of days is in her *right hand, and in her left Riches and Honour*; For God doth often diſpenſe the common Benefits and good things of this Life to the Virtuous, over and above what he intends to beſtow upon them in the World to come.

The prudent Man is ſure of the Happineſs both of this and the other World.

SEEING then *good Men* have the beſt End to follow, the moſt apt and certain means, that always prove effectual; ſeeing

The Prudent Man always follows the beſt End.

ing there is no more difficulty in attaining Heavenly, than earthly things; seeing that men do usually secure a competency of the things of this World, by minding the things of another; but if we place all our Affections upon this World, it many times falls out, that we are frustrated of what we desire; Therefore let us endeavour to be as *prudent* at least in our way of Piety and Virtue, as Worldly-minded men are in theirs; From whose Sagacity we may learn to forearm our selves against the wiles of the Tempter; For when all is done, *true Wisdom* is gotten only in the Word of God, because that *makes us wise unto Salvation*; and they are *very Fools*, who never think, what mischiefs will come upon them, after they have spent a sinful and ungodly Life; they seem not to be distinguished from Brutes, who care not, what they do, or what becomes of them, provided they can fulfil their fleshly Lusts; It is quite otherwise with a *good Man*; his End is *Eternal Life*; the means he takes to it is an *upright* and *virtuous Conversation*, which will never fail of its Rewards.

Now the opposites to true *Prudence* are Craft, or a *fraudulent subtlety*, and *folly*; *Craft*,

Craft, my Lord *Bacon* says, is a sinister and crooked Wisdom; and certainly, there is a great difference between a Cunning, and a Wise Man, not only in the point of Honesty, but in Ability; For there are those, who can pack the Cards, and yet they cannot play them *well*; So there are some, who are very Quickwitted at Tricks and Expedients, that are otherwise weak and shallow Men: their great Engine is a *smooth Tongue* and a competent stock of *Wit*; in general Expressions, they pretend much Affection and Kindness; to gain their Ends, they will use many Artifices, as taking advantage of Persons in Necessity, that are under some fear of Punishment, or of Discovery; that are in Danger, or blinded with Passion; that are Weak or Ignorant, Inadvertent or Easie; they watch their time to ensnare, and exert all their Power to impose upon them: Thus they build their House under ground, as it hath been observed of the Crafty, *celant, tacent, dissimulant, insidiantur, præripiunt hostium consilia*; and in order to their own advantage, they look upon all other men, as Enemies; neither have they, or ever intend to have any Friends.

The difference between a crafty and a prudent Man.

WHAT an odd, as well as wicked Humour is this *Guile*, as if by the help of the moſt perverſe and the moſt erring Guide a man might find out ſhorter Ways, than the *lawful Road*, leaping over Hedg and Ditch; breaking through *all legal Bounds*; as if the moſt crooked were the readieſt Way to arrive at their Journeys End: This is that, which the *Serpent* is ſaid to be eminent for, above all other Beaſts of the Field; whence it is commonly called a *Serpentine Wiſdom*, that lies ever upon the Catch, and deals by way of Stratagem: In a ſtate of War perhaps it may be allowable, as it was thought by *Virgil*, when he asked; *dolus an virtus, quis in Hoſte requirit?* Yet even in War its ſelf, where matters depend upon ſudden Actions, a brave and generous Enemy will make as little uſe of the *Dolus* or Craft, as may be: Therefore to uſe it in their ordinary carriage or dealings with their Brethren; to make them ſuch promiſes, as they will not be obliged by; to utter Words, that intend nothing; will expoſe men to others, with whom they converſe, as dangerous and unworthy Perſons.

What Craft or a Serpentine Wiſdom is.

THE deficient *Extreme* of *Prudence* is called *Simpleneſs* or *Folly*, which conſiſts in ſuch

ſuch a vicious Habit, as is contracted by the frequent neglect or refuſal of the Advices of *Prudence*; This is properly both a Sin and a Puniſhment; Having this peculiar brand of Infamy upon it beyond all other Vices, that whereas ſome men have been ſo impudent, as to take a pride in their diſhoneſt Actions; yet none have ever been ſo wretched, as to boaſt of their Folly; This being amongſt all Men counted moſt reproachful, and that, which will render one moſt contemptible. *Folly oppoſite to Prudence.*

THIS is not the ſame with *Natural Folly*, a principal defect of the Mind, which may be called *Stolidity*, or the Extremity of Dulneſs; But the Folly, we ſpeak of, doth rather come from the depravedneſs of the Will, when it will not hearken to any *thing delivered to it by right Reaſon*; and when men have once acquieſced in untrue Opinions, falſe Judgments, and have regiſtred them as *authentick Methods* in their minds; it is no leſs impoſſible to inſinuate the *Counſels of Prudence*, or to ſpeak intelligibly to ſuch Men, than *to write legibly* upon *a Paper* already *ſcribled over*: the immediate cauſe hereof is *prejudice*, and of *prejudice*, a *falſe Opinion* of our *own knowledg*; When this hath a predominancy over the *It proceeds from a depraved Will.*

Underſtanding; then we *have no Paſſion*, but from it; and we ſhall not be permitted to liſten to the Voice of the *wiſe Man*, *ſpeak he never ſo wiſely.*

What Lightneſs of Mind is.

THERE is alſo a *Lightneſs* in ſome Men's minds that produceth Folly; An Example whereof is in them, who in the midſt of a ſerious Diſcourſe, have their minds diverted to every *little Jeſt*, or *witty Obſervation*, which maketh them depart ſo often from their Diſcourſe, that all they ſay, looks like a Dream, or ſome ſtudied Nonſenſe: Thus *prejudice and Levity are the* cauſes of moſt of thoſe Follies, mankind are guilty of; either their minds are prepoſſeſſed and barr'd up againſt all ſober and prudent Inſtructions; or they are ſo aiery and inconſtant, that for want of Ballaſt they cannot faſten upon any ſteady Principles; when this is the ſtate of the mind, all its Actions will be raſh and irregular; nothing will be done according to the Meaſures and Counſels of *Prudence*, neither will it know how to make uſe of any occaſions, for the obtaining the great End of its Creation. A preſent cure for theſe Evils is *Prudence*, which is the Art of Buſineſs, directing a Man in the practical *Affairs* of Life to what is fit and convenient, accord-

according to the variety of Circumſtances; it conſiſts in a ſolid Judgment to diſcern the Tempers and Intereſts of Men, the ſtate of Buſineſs, the probabilities of Events and Conſequences, together with a preſentneſs of mind to obviate ſudden Accidents; For without this exactneſs of Judgment, to diſtinguiſh between things, we ſhall not be able to tell in ſome caſes what is Vice, and what is Virtue; where the former is like the latter, as it is in the inſtances of *Pride* and *greatneſs of Spirit*, *Religion* and *Superſtition*, *Quickneſs* and *Raſhneſs*, *Chearfulneſs* and *Mirth*; So of *Ambition* and *Sufficiency*, *Government* and *Tyranny*, *Liberty* and *Licentiouſneſs*, *Subjection* and *Servitude*, *Covetouſneſs* and *Frugality*.

Prudence neceſſary to judg between the limits of ſome Virtues and Vices.

Now the juſt limits and boundaries of theſe Things, none but a wiſe and skilful Man can judg of; who can diſcern one from the other, notwithſtanding their great reſemblance, and can give to every Cauſe its proper Actions and Effects: It is therefore neceſſary for every one, that deſires to be a *prudent Man*, to obſerve his own Actions, and the original of them his Thoughts and Intentions, with great care and circumſpection; elſe He ſhall never arrive in any tolerable manner to the knowledg of

what He doth *well* or *ill*: And leſt all this diligence ſhould be inſufficient, as the partiality to himſelf will certainly render it, it is very requiſite for him to betake himſelf often to wiſe and good Men; who may with all freedom admoniſh him of his Failings, and direct him to their proper Remedies; For we muſt not think, that we live one day without Faults, or that thoſe Faults are undiſcovered; And He is happy, who hath a *diſcreet Friend* to obſerve his Converſation, and to tell him, where its Errours are; this is the Way to grow better, and this is the moſt likely Way to perfect himſelf in *Virtue* and *Prudence*, which *prudence* depends very much upon *experience*; without which no Perſon of ever ſo great Capacity, can ever arrive to be a *Wiſe Man*, more than a *Fruit* to maturity without Time; It is true, all Mens Apprehenſions are naturally alike; what one ſees Red, another ſees not Green; and *Aloes* is not bitter to one, and ſweet to another; And that one Man is more learned, is not, becauſe he knows *otherwiſe*, than another; but it is becauſe he knows more Conſequences, and more proportions by his greater Induſtry and *Experience*.

The uſe of a Friend.

WHEN *Experience* hath made us *prudent*; then there will be no inconveniences in Human Life, but we ſhall be aware of, ſo that nothing ſhall be able to diſturb our Happineſs; when the Philoſophy of Speculative Men would take us off from all Employments, that we may live in eaſe and quiet: This teaches us to manage publick Affairs and all manner of Negotiation, without making the leaſt breach of the peace in our minds; when their Wiſdom, for fear of danger, would have us never go to Sea; our *prudence* would have us govern our ſelves wiſely, ſince we are embarked, and ſteer our courſe in the beſt manner; when one will not allow us to go to a Feaſt, leſt we ſhould be ſurfeited either with the Food or the Wine; the other ſhews us how we may be abſtemious, when we come to them.

Prudence the beſt manager of our Converſation.

WHEREFORE *Prudence* teaches us better Leſſons for a life of *Virtue*, than *Philoſophy* can pretend to; For ſhe hath much Study, but little Experience; She can adviſe *well*, but cannot *act*; whereas the Reading of men, rather than Books, enlarges our Souls for the Entertainment of the beſt and moſt uſeful Notions; frees them from that narrowneſs of Spirit, which ſcarce ever leaves

The advantage of Reading Men, rather than Books.

leaves the retired and ſolitary Student: But if he will come abroad, *and walk with wiſe Men*, he *ſhall be wiſe*; He ſhall underſtand the Cuſtoms and Humours of Men, the Buſineſs and Duties of *Life*, the Government and Events of *Providence*: He muſt go out of the World, if he would wholly avoid wicked Men; but his *prudence* will be ſeen ſo in ordering his *Converſation*, that he may not be polluted by their Company: And one chief reaſon, why in the Univerſities themſelves men do not make ſo great a progreſs either in Piety or Learning, as might be expected from thoſe ſpecial Advantages, which they enjoy in thoſe places, is, becauſe *they are not ſo careful* to improve the *benefit to be had by prudent Converſation*; For the Men of *Reading* do very much buſie themſelves about ſuch *Conceptions*, which are no where to be found out of *their own Chambers*; the Senſe, the Cuſtom, the Practice, the judgment of the World, is quite a different thing from what they imagine it to be in private; and therefore it is no wonder, that when they come abroad into Buſineſs, they abound ſo much with Fears and Doubts, and miſtaken Idea's of things; which happens to them, becauſe they have kept out of the way, in the ſhade

of

of their Libraries, *Arguing*,, *Objecting*, *Defending*, *concluding with themſelves*; and would never look out, and by Converſing ſee, what is acted on the *Stage* of the World.

FROM what I have ſaid, may be gather'd; that *Prudence* will teach Men not to ſpend their thoughts about empty Contemplations, by turning them to the practices of a virtuous and an *uſeful Life*; thus their minds will be cured of all their ſwellings, when all things are repreſented to them, juſt as large as they are; For the nearer men come to the Buſineſſes of *Life*, all thoſe *ſhadows* grow leſs and leſs, which did either enlarge or darken Human Affairs: And indeed of the uſual Titles, by which men of Buſineſs are wont to be diſtinguiſhed, the *Crafty*, the *Formal*, and the *Prudent*; the Crafty may anſwer to the *Emperick* in Philoſophy, who has a great collection of particular *Experiences*, but knows not how to uſe them, but to baſe and low Ends; the *Formal* man may be compared to the mere *Speculative* Philoſopher, who vainly reduces every thing to ſome grave and ſolemn general Rules, without diſcretion; And the *prudent* Man is like him, who proceeds on a conſtant and ſolid courſe

The prudent Man is more for practice than Contemplation.

courſe of *Experiments*, which do not reſt upon empty Knowledg, but are deſigned for Action: And it is the *active Life of Virtue*, which it is our Intereſt to begin betimes, becauſe 'tis a hard task for him, who has only *thought* much for the greateſt part of his days, to turn a man of *practice*; as He, that can paint the Face of a *Lion*, will much ſooner come to draw any other Creature; than He, who has all the Rules of Limning in his Head, but never yet uſed his *Hand to lay on a Colour*.

Prudence the beſt preſervative againſt falſe Religions.

I have nothing more to add concerning *Prudence*, only this; that it is the beſt *preſervative* we have againſt all *falſe Religions*, and thoſe, that promote them; wherewith unleſs a man be well guarded, he will be ever expoſed to Impoſtors, who have an Art of preſenting *falſhood* for *Truth*, with as fair Colours and Pretences, with as exact and regular Proportions, with fanciful Conſequences, and artificial Connexions: for want of a due diſcretion in governing their Lives by the plain Rules of the Chriſtian Doctrine, Men have run headlong, into very abſurd and groſs Opinions; For when once Religion is made a Tool to advance the Ambition or the Intereſts of deſigning men, then they broach ſwarms of

ſuppo-

ſuppoſititious Writings and ſophiſtical Arguments, to maintain corrupt Opinions; then they *pretend to Viſions and Dreams*, to gain credit to their *fond inventions*: But a *prudent Man*, who makes a good *Life* his only purpoſe, acts as one in his Wits ſhould do; For holineſs of *Life* reſtores him to his Primitive ſtate, to the perfect and healthful Conſtitution of his Nature; in the mean time it is a hard matter to *perſuade the Enthuſiaſtical* and the *ſuperſtitious* to be *really good*; it is no eaſie thing to work upon their diſordered Tempers and Paſſions, or to reduce 'em to the forſaken and untrodden Paths of *Virtue*.

The Enthuſiaſtical and ſuperſtitious are hardly brought to be really good.

NAY, a *prudent thoughtfulneſs* hath a natural power in it to work in a ſincere Perſon a ſenſe and acknowledgment of his Sins; when he retires into *himſelf*, and takes a true eſtimate of his Condition; For the workings of the mind are active and reſtleſs; it will always be employed one way or another: and when it hath no external Object to entertain or divert it; then *ſelf-Reflection*, the beſt means to an impartial judgment of things will take place, and the true voice of Conſcience will be heard.

ALL

ALL Men therefore, who act wickedly, forget the very nature of their own minds; but He, who guides his Affairs with discretion, looks forward to the end of his Actions; examines the Reasons, upon which his Religion is founded; because *most of the Errours among Men are* such, as their *own Reason* might *have* corrected, had they *in time bethought themselves*; and most of *the dangers*, they incur, proceed from hence, that they have a great *indifference* upon their Spirits as to *the truth* or *honesty of the Religion*, they are engaged in.

Whence most Mens Errours do arise.

IT cannot be expected, considering what fallible Creatures we are, that we should always walk according *to the precise Rules of Prudence*; However seeing that most of the Faults of Men proceed from irregular Humours and Desires, which they are apt to be too Fond of; we are by the Law of our Creation bound to use that Principle in us, we call *Reason*, that it may guide all our Operations, and direct them to some good End; For God governs rational Beings, by the Principles of Reason, as He doth the material World by the *necessary Laws of matter*, and brute Creatures, by the *instincts* and *propensities* of *Nature*.

Of

Of Underſtanding, Science, *and* Wiſdom.

THESE Three may be handled together, becauſe they are alike concerned in the ſearch after *Truth*; For the *Underſtanding* perceives and apprehends the Objects by the Miniſtry of the Senſes; the reſemblances of theſe Objects being conveyed to the *Underſtanding*, do there make their own Image, which we call *Science* or *Knowledg*, in which two things are implied; the one is *Truth*; the other is *Evidence*: For what is not *Truth*, can never be known; and Evidence is to Truth, as ſap to the Tree, which ſo far as it creepeth along with Body and Branches, keepeth them alive; where it forſaketh them, they die: For this Evidence, which is Meaning with our Words, is the *Life* of *Truth*; and that which hath much *experience of Fact*, and much *evidence* of *Truth*, that is, much *Underſtanding* and *Science*, hath uſually been called, both by ancient and modern Writers, *Sapience or Wiſdom*, whereof *Man only* is capable. *What Science is.* *What Sapience or Wiſdom is.*

OF whoſe Soul the *Underſtanding* is the higheſt

highest Faculty; which judges of the Reports of Sense, and detects all their Impostures; resolves all *sensible* things into *intelligible* Principles; the conceptions whereof are not mere passive Impressions upon the Soul from without, but they are *actively* exerted from the mind its self; no *passion* being able to make a judgment either of it self, or other things: but some men have been so fond of *corporeal Sense*, as to believe, that there is nothing in Human Understanding, which was not first in bodily Sense; which whosoever affirms, must say, that *Life* and *Cogitation* it self, *Knowledg* or *Understanding*, *Reason* and *Memory*, *Volition* and *Appetite*, things of the greatest moment and Reality, to be nothing but mere *Words* without any *signification*. For if Sense were the only Evidence of things, there could be no *absolute truth and falshood*, nor certainty at all of any thing; Sense as such being obnoxious to much Delusion: and were Existence to be allowed to nothing, that doth not fall under *corporeal Sense*, then we must deny the Being of Mind both in our selves and others; because we can nether see nor feel any such thing.

Understanding the highest faculty of the Soul.

THERE have been also those, who have thought, that our *understandings* might be so

ſo made, as to deceive us in all our cleareſt perceptions, in *Geometrical Theorems* themſelves, and even in our common Notions; if this be ſo, then we can never be certain of the *truth* of any thing, not ſo much, as that two and two are four; nay, if this be ſo, we can never arrive at any certainty concerning the Exiſtence of God, *eſſentially good*, forasmuch as This cannot any otherwiſe be proved, than by the uſe of our *Underſtanding-Faculty*: Beſides it is no way congruous to think that God Almighty ſhould make Rational Creatures ſo, as to be in an utter impoſſibility of ever attaining to any *Truth*; if this were ſo, what would our *Life* be, but a Dream! and our ſelves, but a ridiculous piece of *fantaſtick Vanity!*

WHEREAS no Power, how great ſoever, can make any thing indifferently to be *true*; nor can create ſuch Minds, as ſhall have as clear Conceptions of *Falſhoods*, as they have of *Truths*; For Example, no Underſtanding Being, that knows, what a *part* is, and what a *whole*, what a *cauſe*, and what an *effect*, can poſſibly be ſo made, as clearly to conceive the *part* to be greater than the *whole*, or the *effect* to be before the *cauſe*: For the Deity is the original of *Truth* and *Wiſdom*; And it doth not derogate from him,

The Deity is the original of Truth.

him, that created Minds ſhould ſo partake of the divine Mind, as to know certainly, that *two and two make four*, that *equals added to equals will make equals*, that a whole is greater than a part, that the cauſe is before the effect, and ſuch like *common Notions*, which are the Principles, from whence all our knowledg is derived.

MOREOVER a *Perfect underſtanding Being*, is the beginning and head of the Scale of *Entity*; from whence things gradually deſcend downward, lower and lower, till they end in *ſenſeleſs matter*; *for Mind is the oldeſt of all things*, ſenior to the Elements, and the whole *corporeal World*; for if once there had been no Life in the whole Univerſe, but all had been *dead*, then could there never have been any *Life* or *Motion* in it; and if once there had been no underſtanding, then could there never have been *any underſtanding produced*; becauſe to ſuppoſe Life and Underſtanding to riſe out of that, which is altogether dead and ſenſeleſs, is plainly to ſuppoſe, *ſomething to come out of nothing*; wherefore becauſe there is *Mind*, we are certain, that there was *ſome Mind* from all Eternity, from whence theſe imperfect Minds of ours came; for the firſt Principle of all things muſt

Mind the oldeſt of all things.

muſt be an underſtanding Nature; and the power we have to underſtand the truth we altogether owe to this Cauſe.

FOR *Gen.* 1. 27. *God created Man in his own image*; which image is that univerſal Rectitude of all the faculties of the Soul, by which they ſtand apt and diſpoſed to their receptive Offices and Operations; therefore in *Adam* the Underſtanding was a Noble and pure Faculty, could lead and controul the Paſſions, as it liſted; it did then determine upon the ſeveral informations of Senſe, and all the varieties of imagination, not hearing only like a ſleepy Judg, but alſo directing their Verdict: Being innocent and quick, it gave the Mind a bright and full proſpect into all things; inſomuch that the diſcoveries of Truth are now very obſcure in compariſon with thoſe clear repreſentations thereof, which the underſtanding made then. *What the Image of God is in Man.*

IT was likewiſe *Adam*'s happineſs to have thoſe Maxims and general Notions of the Mind, which are the *Rules of* Diſcourſe, and the *Baſis of all* Philoſophy, *clear* and *unſullied*; Study was not then a duty, Night-watchings were needleſs: The Light of Reaſon wanted not the aſſiſtance of a Candle; This is the doom of us poor ſalln *Adam's underſtanding much above ours.*

Creatures, to labour in the Fire, to ſpend our Time, and impair our Health, and perhaps to ſpin out all our days upon *one pitiful Concluſion:* And 'tis difficult for us, who were born and bred up with Ignorance and Infirmities about us, to raiſe our Thoughts to thoſe Intellectual Perfections, that attended our Nature in the time of Innocence; But we muſt conclude the Underſtanding to be at that time moſt Excellent, by the glorious Remainders, that *are left of it*; For all thoſe *Arts*, *Rarities* and *Inventions*, which vulgar Heads gaze at, the Ingenious purſue, and all admire, they are but the *Reliques* of an Underſtanding defaced with Sin and Time; Inſomuch that an *Ariſtotle*, whom we take to be the Great Maſter of *Science*, was but the rubbiſh of an *Adam*, and *Athens*, but the Rudiments of *Paradiſe*.

THE Image of God did no leſs remarkably ſhew it ſelf, in that, which we call *the practical Underſtanding*, in which are treaſured up the Rules of Action, and the Seeds of Morality; of this ſort are theſe Rules of Life, that *God is to be worſhip'd, our Parents to be honoured, our words to be kept*; which being of univerſal Influence, as to the regulation of the Behaviour, and Converſe of Man-

Mankind, are the ground of all Virtue and Civility, and the Foundation of Religion.

Now *Adam* had theſe Notions in his Boſom, firm and untainted; and He had ſuch a Conſcience, as might be its own *Caſuiſt*, and thoſe Actions muſt needs be regular, when there is an uninterrupted *agreement between* the Rule and the Faculty: All the Laws of Nations, and wiſe Decrees of States, the Statutes of *Solon* and the *twelve Tables*, were but a paraphraſe upon this ſtanding Rectitude of *Nature*, upon this principle of *Juſtice*, that would never be impoſed upon by a *deluding Fancy*, nor bribed by an *alluring Appetite*; no *utile* nor *jucundum* could turn the Ballance to a *falſe* or *diſhoneſt Sentence*; the inferiour Faculties had the cleareſt Inſtructions, and were commanded too with ſuch Power, as they could not reſiſt; It was not then, as it is now, when the *Underſtanding* chaſtiſes the Paſſions, as old *Eli* did his headſtrong Sons, gently and eaſily; but its Voice at that time was; this *muſt*, this ſhall be *done*. *The Rule and the Faculty did ever agree.*

THUS the *Image* of God did once ſhine in the *underſtanding* of Man; at the ſame time, it was alſo ſtampt upon *his Will*; as it appeared from that entire *freedom* and in-

difference the *Will* then had, to *ſtand*, or not to *ſtand*, to *accept*, or not *accept* the Temptation: I will grant the *Will* now to be as much a *ſlave*, as any one will have it, being *free* only *to ſin*; But *from the beginning it was not ſo*, neither is This *Nature*, but *Chance*: therefore it were blaſphemy to lay our Faults upon God, as the Author of them, as if He had made us *crooked*: But when they came out of his Hands, the *underſtanding* and *will* never *diſagreed*, what was propounded by the one, was never contradicted by the other; Neither did the *will* attend upon the *underſtanding* in a ſervile manner, but as *Solomon*'s Servants waited upon him; it admired the Wiſdom of its Dictates, and heard the Counſels thereof, which did both direct and reward its Obedience: For it is the nature of this Faculty to follow a Superiour Guide, the *Underſtanding*; but then ſhe was a Subject, as a Queen is to her King, who both acknowledges a Subjection, and yet retains a Majeſty.

The will now a Slave.

Paſſions the Inſtruments of Virtue.

IF we paſs downward to the *Paſſions*, we ſhall be convinced, what influence the *Underſtanding* hath in rendring them the Inſtruments of *Virtue*; which the *Stoicks* look'd upon as ſinful Defects and irregularities,

ties, as ſo many deviations from right Reaſon: But in this, they were conſtantly outvoted by other Sects of Philoſophers: To us let this be ſufficient, that our Saviour Chriſt was ſeen, to *weep*, to be *ſorrowful*, to *pity*, and to be *angry*; which ſhews that there may be Gall in a *Dove*, Paſſion without *ſin*, and Motion without *diſturabnce*.

BUT then the *Underſtanding* muſt keep them within their juſt bounds; as in the caſe of *Love*, which is ſo often compared to a *Fire*; as if it could chuſe, whether it will heat or no, no more than a Flame can; therefore there is *need* of a *ſound mind* to fix it upon its right Object, that it may not degenerate into Luſt; So in the caſe of *Hatred*, it muſt be the *Underſtanding*, that muſt confine it to its proper Object, that it may not become Rancour againſt our Brethren; by the ſame over-ruling Power *Anger* may be brought to vent its ſelf by the *meaſures of Reaſon*, and never be touched with any *tranſport of Malice*, or the violence of *Revenge*: And for the lightſome paſſion of *Joy*, it may be made a Maſculine and ſevere thing, not like the crackling of Thorns, but the moſt ſolid recreation of the Judgment; *Sorrow* hereby is forced to be as ſilent, as our *Thoughts*, and that Anchor

The inferiour Affections governed by the Underſtanding.

of the Mind, *Hope* is faſtned upon the Actions of Innocence and Integrity, inſtead of the Mud of this World.

FOR as in the Body, when the Heart and Liver do their Offices, and all the ſmaller Veſſels under *them act orderly and duly*, there ariſes a juſt temperament upon the whole, which we *call Health*: So in the Soul, when the *Underſtanding* governs the lower Affections, there ariſes peace and ſatisfaction upon the whole Soul, which is ſuch an healthful Conſtitution, as is infinitely beyond the pleaſures of the Body.

The cauſe of peace and ſatisfaction to the Soul.

THIS is the *Faculty*, that rules in us; the immediate product whereof is *Science*; as the firſt Creature God formed was *Light*, ſo the firſt motion of *Adam*, after he was furniſhed with a ſound Underſtanding and an obedient Will, was after Knowledg; But by a fooliſh deſire after more, and by taking ſome falſe ſteps he loſt his Way, and left his Poſterity in the dark, either following wrong Scents, or much in doubt, what paths to walk in: However there is a Providence in the conduct of Knowledg, as well as of other Affairs on the Earth, and it was not deſigned, that all the Myſteries of Nature and of Providence ſhould be plainly underſtood through all the Ages of the

Science the immediate product of the Underſtanding.

the World; and what was made known to the Ancients only by broken Concluſions and Traditions, will be known in the latter Ages of the World, in a more perfect Way, by Principles, and Theories: The encreaſe of Knowledg being that, which changeth ſo much the Face of the World, and the ſtate of Human Affairs, I do not doubt, but there is a particular care in the conduct of it, by what ſteps and degrees it ſhould come to *Light*, at what Seaſons, and in what Ages; What Evidence ſhould be left either in Scripture, Reaſon, or Tradition for the grounds of it, how clear or obſcure, how diſperſt or united; All theſe things were weighed and conſidered, and ſuch meaſures taken, as beſt ſuit the deſigns of Providence, and the general Project and Method propoſed in the government of the World: And it is not to be queſtioned, but the ſtate both of the old World, and of that, which is to come, is exhibited to us in Scripture in ſuch a meaſure and proportion, as is fit for this forementioned purpoſe; not as the *Articles of our* Faith, or the *precepts* of a *good Life*, which he that runs, may read, but to the attentive, and thoſe that are unprejudiced, and to thoſe that are inquiſitive, and have their minds open and prepared for the

the diſcernment of Myſteries of ſuch a Nature.

There are many ſecrets, that paſs our Underſtandings.

HENCE it is, that in every Science there are more *Arcana* to poſe our Underſtanding, than eaſie Concluſions to ſatisfie it: which things being ſo far beyond the reach of our Reaſon, muſt needs enforce us to believe, that there is an admirable *Wiſdom*, which diſpoſeth, and an *infinite Knowledg*, which doth comprehend thoſe Secrets, that we are not able to fathom: In *Divinity* likewiſe there are Myſteries, that with their brightneſs dazzle and confound our Reaſon, by their own aſtoniſhing Glory and Splendour they render themſelves inviſible to us; Now our Reaſon muſt not preſume to *Science* in thoſe Myſteries, which are ſo far removed from its Notices; whenever it offers to judg of them, it falls into *uncertain Opinions*, and loſes its ſelf *in a Maze* of thoughts: wherefore that our Reaſon may learn to be Modeſt, and to keep within its due bounds, let it try whether it can underſtand, *how a drop of dew* can be Organiz'd into a Fly or a Graſhopper; let it tell us, how the *Glories of the Field are ſpun*, or by what *Pencil the Herbs* and *Flowers* are *ſo finely painted*; if theſe Objects do poſe it, which our Eyes converſe with daily, then let it not

not pretend to *underſtand incomprehenſible,* to *order infinite,* and *define ineffable things.*

FOR to know how far our *Science* can go, is one of the beſt Points of Knowledg, we can have; For this will ſecure us from thoſe bold Untruths, and very abſurd Errours, which unwary Men have fallen into, who have ventured over thoſe limits, within which our Reaſon ſhould be confined. The proper Work of which is to put a Man into as good a condition, as He is capable of, and as it is reaſonable for him to expect; and the deſire of this is not properly a *moral Virtue,* about which Men have a *Liberty* of *Acting,* but is a natural Principle, that flows neceſſarily from the very frame of our Natures: For that, which hath a fitneſs in it to promote the welfare of Man, as a *Senſitive Being,* is ſtyled *Natural Good,* and whatſoever promotes his welfare, as a Rational Being, is called *Moral Good*; And the greater tendency any thing hath, to advance or hinder the perfection of our Nature, ſo much greater degrees hath it of *Moral Good* or *Evil*; to which we ought to proportion our Inclination or Averſion; and our Underſtanding tells us, that the *rational Nature,* and the *perfection* belong-

The advantage of knowing, how far our Science will reach.

What is Natural Good, and what Moral.

belonging to it is more Noble, than the *ſenſitive*, therefore *moral good* is to be preferr'd before *Natural*; and that which is *morally evil* is more to be hated and ſhunn'd, than that, which is *Natural*.

The beſt Science is the knowledg of our ſelves.

SUPPOSE *we ſtudied nothing but this*; how profitable would this *Science* be to us! For it would make *us wiſe to ſalvation*: For as other Sciences carry out our Thoughts, and entertain them with Notions abroad, this will bring us to the *knowledg* of our *ſelves*; which is the only Way to true *Wiſdom*: For an Aſtronomer may gaze upon the Stars, may admire exteriour Objects much, that appear glorious, and after all he may fall into the Ditch; But the end both of *knowing* and *doing well* is to be gotten only in that rare *Science* of what is moſt agreeable to the Reaſon and Intereſt of every Man: It is pity to loſe this *Science* in a croud of Definitions, Diviſions, and Diſtinctions, as ſome Philoſophers have done: whoſe Underſtandings ſeem to be always in the warlike State of Nature, one againſt another.

WHEREAS it is requiſite, that He, who would accompliſh his Mind with the moſt excellent matters of *Science*, ſhould firſt *know himſelf*, ſhould be well practiſed in *all the modeſt, humble, friendly Virtues*; And

I dare

I dare boldly ſay, that a virtuous Man, of a calm and teachable Spirit, is more likely to make a good Proficient in all manner of Knowledg; than *the Wit,* who muſt be always prying into things, that are too deep or are altogether unintelligible: The Chymiſts lay it down, as a neceſſary qualification of their Happy Man, to whom God will reveal their *Elixir*, that rather He muſt be *good and innocent*, than *too curious*; And if I were to form the Character of a true Lover of *Science*, *Virtue* muſt be the Foundation, and that upon a rational account; For certainly ſuch men, whoſe minds are *humble*, and free from all Self-conceit, are in a far better way to the moſt beneficial Knowledg, than the bold and haughty; they will paſs by nothing, by which they may learn; they will be always ready to receive, and communicate Obſervations; they will not contemn the fruits of other men's Diligence; they will rejoice to ſee the Learning of the beſt Things enquired into, both by themſelves and others.

The humble Man is moſt likely to be the beſt Proficient in Science.

THEREFORE *Socrates was eſteemed the* Patron of *Virtue*, becauſe He was one of the Firſt, that began to *draw into ſome Order*, the confuſed and obſcure Imaginations of thoſe, that went before him; becauſe He made

Socrates the Patron of Virtue.

made all parts of Philoſophy to be taken off from *mere ſubtilty* and *words*, that they might be immediately ſerviceable to the Affairs of Men and the *uſes* of *Life*; that they might no longer be wrap'd up, as it was the cuſtom of the *Wiſemen in Egypt*, in the *dark ſhadows of Hieroglyphicks*, nor concealed, as *Sacred Myſteries*, from the apprehenſions of the Vulgar: But *Virtue* and the Science of *Truth* ſtands not in need of ſuch Artifices to uphold her Credit; but is then moſt likely to thrive, when the minds and labours of men of all Conditions are joined to promote it, and when it becomes the care of all People to practiſe it: Indeed the *Grecian* Poets did firſt ſoften men's natural Rudeneſs by the Charms of Verſe, before they could be brought to receive the ſeverer Doctrines, of *Solon*, *Thales*, and *Pythagoras*; So ſome men muſt be delightfully deceived to their own good, and wholeſom Inſtructions muſt be inſinuated into their Minds with the mixture of Fables and the Ornaments of Fancy: but when once they are got over theſe Rudiments, nothing will reliſh ſo well with them as the ſtricter Leſſons of *Virtue*, and an aſſiduous proſecution of thoſe *Sciences*, that will at length bring them to the Seat of ſound and perfect *Wiſdom*.

Now

Now to seek for this Wisdom *in Systems and Models*, is to seek the Living among the Dead; but the powerful Energy of true *Wisdom* shews it self only in the virtuous Mind; which is the πεδίον ἀληθείας, as the antient Philosophy speaks, the *Land of Truth*; And when *Zoroaster*'s Scholars asked him, What they should do to get *winged Souls*, such as might soar aloft after *Truth?* He bids them bathe themselves in the *Waters of Life*; and enquiring, what those were, they were told, the four *Cardinal Virtues*, which he compares to the four *Rivers* of *Paradise*: That *Science* is very thin, which is made up of *Syllogisms* and *Demonstrations*, but the *Wisdom* which is built upon Goodness is more convincing and more substantial, than all those; For the *End*, it aims at, is a State of Everlasting Happiness, and the *Means* are the infused *Principles* of *Grace*, whereby our corrupted Natures are exalted to their Primitive Uprightness: So that this kind of Wisdom may be defined to be that Habit of Mind, whereby a Man is enabled to propose the true End of Eternal *Blessedness*, and to judg aright concerning such Means, as may be most fit for the attaining this *End*, conforming his Life and Carriage accordingly. Now that which

Wisdom is not to be found in Systems.

Wisdom defined.

which is the greateſt *Truth*, to gratifie our Underſtandings, and the Higheſt Good, to ſatisfie our Wills, muſt be an End proper for a Wiſe Man to follow: Neither was the Ancient Philoſophy unacquainted with this Way and Method of attaining unto the moſt *Divine Wiſdom*; And it is obſerved, that *Pythagoras*, had ſeveral ways to try the Moral temper of the minds of his Diſciples, before he would entruſt 'em with the Sublimer Myſteries of his School; And the *Platoniſts* were ſo ſollicitous herein, that they thought, the Souls of Men could never be purged enough from the dregs *of Senſe and Paſſion*, to become capable of their *Metaphyſicks*; And as we have obſerved already, *Ariſtotle* thought, a young Man unfit to meddle with the wiſer Precepts of *Morality*, till the heat and raſhneſs of his youthful Affections were cooled and moderated.

Now the Wiſe Man, we now ſpeak of, is ἄνθρωπος θεωρητικὸς, the Contemplative Perſon, who hath paſſed through all the Diſcipline of *Virtue*; For He cannot be good at true Theory, who hath not firſt been ſo at Practice, and to the true and ſober Man peculiarly belongs Θεία φρόνησις, Divine Wiſdom, which vigorouſly diſplays it ſelf ἐν πρᾶ-

νοερᾶ ζωῆ. as the *Platonists* phrase it, in an *intellectual Life*: For the *good Man* only *lives* in him, who is *Life* it self, and is enlightned by him, who is *Truth it self*: Besides Purity of Heart and Life, as also an *ingenuous freedom of Judgment*, are the best *preparations* for the *entertainment of Truth*; For every Art and Science hath some certain Principles upon which the whole Frame and Body of it must depend, and therefore the Scripture is wont to set forth a *good Life*, as the fundamental Principle of Wisdom; For it asserts the *Fear of the Lord to be the beginning of Wisdom*; And in Divine Things especially He, that is most practical, is the wisest Man, and not He, that is most a *Dogmatist*. For as in the natural Body, it is the Heart, which sends up good Blood and warm Spirits to the Brain, whereby it receives power to execute its several Functions; so that which gives us power to understand the best things aright, must be a living Principle of Piety *within us*; because if the Tree of Knowledg should not be planted by this Tree of *Life*, then it may bring forth bitter, as well as sweet Fruit, evil as well as good Deeds: This is the reason, why *Truth* prevails no more in the World, because men are busied more in *acute Reasonings* and sub-

What are the best preparations for Truth.

Why Truth prevails no more in the World.

tle *Diſputes*, than in real goodneſs; which *Goodneſs* and *Truth* grow both from the ſame Root and live in one another.

ON the contrary, Vice caſts a cold Poiſon into the Underſtand ings of Men; benums the Faculties; creeps into the Bed of Reaſon and defiles it; Yet vicious Men are more apt, than others, to boaſt of their Wiſdom; but if we come nearer theſe Landskips of Reaſon and Wit; that, which ſeemed afar off to be Hills and Mountains in them, will be found to be nothing but artificial Shadows: beſides the Vanity whereby Sin is puff'd up, nothing is more unreaſonable and fooliſh; For what can argue a greater madneſs, than to forfeit the endleſs welfare of the Soul for the ſatisfaction of a Moment!

THEREFORE I will only ask this of Mankind, that they would act according to the directions of *Wiſdom*, that is, agreeably to the fixed and unavoidable Fate of things, and remember, that they are a ſort of Beings, who muſt hereafter live always, either in unconceivable Happineſs or Miſery; if this Meditation will not bring 'em to *Wiſdom*, there is no remedy, but they muſt be left to the diſmal and pitileſs deſerts of their want of Senſe and Conſideration.

Now

Now there are two things, that make up Religion, Knowledg and Practice; the firſt is wholly in order to the ſecond, and both together conſtitute Spiritual Wiſdom; For God hath not revealed his Will, and made known our Duty to us, to make us more learned, but to make us more *good*; not to enlarge our Underſtandings or entertain our Minds with the Fine Notions of *Virtue*, but to *Form* and *govern* our Lives; therefore God hath ſo ordered things, that no Man ſhall be Happy for any *Speculations*, unleſs they are drawn down *into practice*: For there is no kind of *Knowledg*, that a man may ſooner come at, than the *knowledg* of Religion, becauſe the greateſt part of it hath a Foundation in *the common Reaſon of Mankind*; and as for that, which is revealed, it is only new Arguments to be good and virtuous: Now this Goſpel makes the knowledg and practice of Religion the only way to true *Wiſdom*, and conſequently to Happineſs; therefore they are the Practiſers, that our Saviour hath bleſs'd in his Sermon on the Mount, the poor *in ſpirit*, the *meek*, and *merciful*: So He, who acts according to his knowledg, is likened to a *wiſe Man, who built his houſe on a Rock*, but He, who heareth our Saviour's Sayings, and doth them

Knowledg and Practice make up Religion.

them not, is likened to a foolish Man, *who built his house upon the Sand; the rain descended, and the floods came; the winds blew and beat upon that house and it fell*: As God hath made the practice of Religion a necessary Condition of our Happiness; so the nature of the thing doth make it a necessary condition for it; For our utmost Happiness being to consist in the enjoyment of God, and it being impossible that Persons should have communion one with another, that are not of a temper; we must be like to God, if we would be Happy; Now nothing can make us like unto God, but Holiness and Virtue: Therefore Men are not wise, who think, they can be partakers of Happiness upon any other account; Knowledg indeed it self is a Divine Perfection, but yet that alone doth not render a man like to God, neither doth that alone qualifie him for his Presence; For if a Man had the understanding of an Angel, he might for all this be of a *devilish* Temper, and whosoever is so, hath no disposition in him for the place of pure Happiness.

The practice of Religion is a necessary condition for Happiness.

LET every Man therefore, that hopes to be happy in the next World, lead an Holy Life in this; because an *unholy Life* is in the nature of the thing utterly inconsistent with Being in Heaven. THE

THE proper Inference from all that hath been ſaid is, that in all the exerciſes of our Underſtanding, Science, or Wiſdom, we ſhould make the practice of Religion our main deſign; becauſe for this purpoſe God gave us our Reaſon; For to inſpire Man with a Faculty of reaſoning, by which he can form true Notions from ſingle Experiments, and infer one Truth from another; and to inſpire his Reaſon with Divine Notions, are only two different Modes of Revelation: For He did as well reveal himſelf to us, when he gave us Reaſon to underſtand his Will, as he does, when he ſends a Meſſenger from Heaven to declare his Mind.

SINCE then God light up in us this *Candle* of *our Reaſon*; why may he not give new Light to it; eſpecially when it begins to burn with a *dying* and *languiſhing Flame:* How agreeable is this to the Divine Goodneſs, and to that infinite Care it takes of the welfare and happineſs of reaſonable Beings, to conduct and enlighten them with Divine Revelation; chiefly when the groping World had ſo bewildred it ſelf in an endleſs Maze of Errour, and was ſo loſt in its own wandrings; when no Human Underſtanding or Wiſdom could ſhew the Way; then to ſpring a Light from Heaven, whereby Man-

kind may be directed to the Coaſt of *Truth*, is the higheſt Inſtance of the care and goodneſs of Divine Providence; that we were not left to take our own courſe, but were reſcued from Sin and miſery, ignorance and darkneſs by ſo kind an Hand.

ALL that we have to do is, to obey his Commandments, and this is the beſt way to encreaſe our knowledg in Religion; For the practice of a Trade ſhall give a Man a truer knowledg of it, than reading all the Books, that ever were writ about it, and ſo we ſhall better know a Countrey by travelling into it, than by poring upon all the Maps, that ever were made of it: In like manner Obedience to the Will of God doth diſpoſe us for the knowledg of it, by freeing our Minds from prejudice, by making our Underſtandings more clear, and taking away the great Obſtacles of Wiſdom; which without the practice of Religion will be ſo far from being any furtherance to our Happineſs, that it will be one of the ſaddeſt, and moſt unhappy aggravations of our miſery: For when we come into the other World, no reflection will more enrage our Torments, than to think, that we choſe to lead vitious Lives, and to make our ſelves miſerable, when we knew the way to Hea-

ven

ven and Happineſs. For after all that hath been ſaid upon this Head, S. *Paul*'s Judgment is undoubtedly true, 1 *Corin.* 8. 1. That *Knowledg puffeth up, but Charity edifieth:* Now when the Apoſtle ſaid this, *Corinth, the Metropolis of Achaia,* was, as all other rich and populous places, exceſſively proud and luxurious; ſoftneſs and eaſe had expell'd all the thoughts of the Laborious Exerciſes of *Virtue:* Yet (as it often happens) the men *were ingenious,* though they were wicked; In a word, all the World condemn'd them for their Debaucheries, but *admired them for their Parts:* Wherefore St. *Paul* tells them very truly, that their knowledg was the Original of all their Errours; they might be blown up *with Science,* but they muſt be Edified *with Charity:* In like manner did the *Gnoſticks* dote on the Myſteries of Words; did pride themſelves about Fruitleſs Genealogies, and the unintelligible methods of *Science:* for which reaſon St. *Paul* did ſeverely reprehend theſe vain-glorious *Scioliſts*, and declare, that a little Charity towards an offended Brother was more valuable than all their ſubtle Theorems, or the Poſitions of any *the moſt celebrated Dogmatiſts:* So the Philoſophers of old gave another Interpretation to γνῶθι σεαυτὸν,

σεαυτὸν, *know thy ſelf*, and improved it into Self-conceit and Arrogance; their Principles and their Dictates ſeem always to be framed, rather to oppoſe than to eſtabliſh *Truth*: If from them we paſs to the times of Chriſtianity, we find *Julian* and *Lucian*, *Arrius* and *Socinus*, all of them in a ſeveral way deſpiſing the plainneſs and ſimplicity of the Goſpel, for the ſake of their own trifling Opinions, which muſt not ſubmit to the teachings of Fiſhermen: Nay, how many Volumes are there in the World, whoſe Subject is little elſe, but breach of *Charity!* which Charity, and not great Words nor the phantaſtical Hypotheſes of thoſe, that call themſelves *Wiſe*, muſt ſet a luſtre upon all we do: For neither Happineſs here, nor Heaven hereafter is to be gotten by haughty Looks or Suppoſitions, but by a conſtant Tenour of Bountifulneſs in our Lives, and *integrity in our Actions:* Suppoſing therefore we were ſet upon the higheſt Mountain of *Metaphyſicks*, and had thence the raviſhing Proſpect of all the Kingdoms of *human Learning*, all the *Glories of Philoſophy*; yet we will not worſhip one Notion, that cannot be brought into the practice of a Holy Life.

An

An Enquiry into the Cauſes of the decay of MORAL VIRTUES.

A Manifeſt decay hath been brought upon Moral Virtue;

Firſt, By Hypocriſie or Formality; when Men follow a Form of Godlineſs, and deny the Power thereof.

Secondly, By Licentiouſneſs of Living, whereby Debauchery and ill Manners have much prevailed.

Thirdly, By decrying the uſe of Reaſon in Matters of Religion.

Fourthly, By making Morality and Grace, oppoſite to one another.

Men of all Ages have been induſtrious to elude the practice of Moral Virtue by ſome trifling, childiſh, and unprofitable ſhews thereof: How can we, but ſtand amazed at the folly of Mankind, that love to be their own Impoſtors, and that when they may be truly good at ſo eaſie and advantageous a rate, labor to be but ſeemingly ſo at the expence of a great deal of pain and trouble; and with the *Phariſees*, take twice as much pains to ſcour the out-

Hypocriſie condemned.

outside of the Dish, only that it may shine and glister, than is needful to keep the inside neat and cleanly: Thus they change wise Notices of things, for childish Conceits; freedom of Spirit for narrowness of Soul; chearfulness of Mind for slavish Fears; a sweet and obliging Conversation for cynical Zeal; Temperance and Sobriety, for harsh and Monkish Mortifications; in a word, they change all the Branches and Fruits of a holy Mind and virtuous Actions, for Forms and Gayeties: It will not therefore be unseasonable to caution Men against this Formality, as a most dangerous Cheat, that secretly enervates all the Power and Efficacy of that Goodness, it makes a shew of, that, whilst it pretends highly to advance Religion, undermines it: This I shall endeavour to do,

First, By laying down some of its most peculiar Characters.

Secondly, By discovering the Arts, it makes use of, to overthrow the power of Moral Virtue.

Thirdly, By explaining what the Power of Moral Virtue is, and wherein it consists.

First then the Formalist serves God barely out of a Principle of *Fear*, and not at all out of *Love*; he only looks upon Him,

Him, as a great and auſtere Being, that ſits in the Heavens, demanding harſh and arbitrary Homage from his Creatures; he apprehends Him, as an imperious *Almighty One*; that, becauſe He hath beſtowed upon us theſe little imperfect Beings, takes upon Him to impoſe ſevere and unreaſonable Laws, and exacts for the few pleaſures, He hath granted to the Life of Man, to be paid with ſharp and troubleſom Penances: But all this while he has not tho leaſt thought of gaining his Favor by divine and virtuous Qualities. Whereas if we would attain to the Spirit and Genius of true Holineſs, we muſt look upon it as a wiſe and gracious Deſign of Heaven, to fill the Souls of Men, with all Excellencies perfective of their Natures; for Religion is no Trick or Artifice, but its natural deſign is to make Men *truly good*; it is no Contrivance of Heaven to bring advantages to it ſelf; but it was graciouſly intended for the ſake of Men, to carry on their Creator's Work, in compleating thoſe things, which He made, and to make 'em more like Him, than He left them: But the Formaliſt or Hypocrite, is utterly unacquainted with all inward Senſe of Goodneſs, and ſo he can pleaſe God, as he thinks, by giving him his due

Religion no Trick.

of

of Religious Performances, he is not at all concerned for ſolid and eſſential Righteouſneſs.

THUS the degenerate *Jews* in the time of the Prophets, were wont to be laviſh and profuſe in their Sacrifices, that they might be excuſed or wink'd at, for the Duties of *Virtue* and *Morality*; they would offer the richeſt Oblations, a Thouſand Rams and Ten Thouſand Rivers of Oyl, all the Firſt-born of their Flocks and Families, the Fruit of the Fields and their Bodies too, to purchaſe a diſpenſation for their Vices; they would not grudge to pacifie God, with any Sacrifice, rather than offer up their Luſts; they would honor Him, praiſe Him, flatter Him, give Him all his dues and more, ſpare neither for coſts nor charges in his Worſhip; and all this, only to bribe him, that He might indulge them their Self-wills and their Paſſions; and not be angry for their injuſtice, cruelty, and unmercifulneſs; they were nice and punctual in their Faſts; would ſpare for no trouble to appear Devout; yet were there never any People in the World ſo vicious, as they; the Prophets every where upbraiding them with the moſt notorious Peeviſhneſs and Pride, Covetouſneſs and Ambition; for they were perſuaded, that ſuch zealous

zealous Men, as they were, might be excuſed for the ſake of their expenſive Devotions, all thoſe petty duties of Juſtice and Sobriety towards their Neighbors and themſelves: On the contrary, a good Man Worſhips God, becauſe he loves Him, and loves him, becauſe he hates Vice; he loves the eternal Rules of Equity and right Reaſon, becauſe God loves 'em too.

Secondly, THE Formaliſt is very buſie about the Means and Inſtruments of Religion, but neglects the Ends thereof; he is very zealous in religious Performances, but utterly careleſs of all inward Virtue and Goodneſs; hence it is, that the Minds of ſome Men are ſo little poſſeſſed with true and real Virtue, becauſe the Name of Religion hath been ſo much appropriated to its Forms; which Men are apt to be taken with, when they may be eaſily reconciled with their Vices and Paſſions: The *Phariſees* did juſt ſo; they only made great ſhews of Piety, to cover their Frauds and Rapines; they were curious to waſh their Hands, but took no care to purifie their Hearts; they would Faſt and ſtarve their Bodies, but at the ſame time, feed and pamper their Luſts; they would not Rob, but they did oppreſs their Neighbors; whilſt they relieved their

Too great a regard to Forms diſappoints the effects of real virtue.

their Brethren, they did at the ſame time hate and deſpiſe them: Thus the Inſtruments of Piety were made uſe of, as a means to ſubvert that, which they were ordained to advance; And thus it is in the relative and ſubordinate Duties of the Chriſtian Religion; if Men do as conſtantly commit, as they do confeſs their Sins, they fruſtrate plainly the purpoſe of their Duty; and whilſt they are very Officious to run on God's Errand, they are very negligent of his Buſineſs: It is not every Confeſſion of our Sins, that He requires, but when it proceeds from an effectual Reſolution againſt them; and therefore where it ends not in Reformation, it ends in Hypocriſie; and to acknowledg, but not to Mortifie our Luſts, is only to tell God, we are great ſinners, and by his leave intend to continue ſo.

It is an eaſie matter for Men to preſent Heaven with large and perpetual addreſſes; but unleſs they be meek, merciful, humble, charitable, righteous, candid, and ingenuous, as well as Godly and Devout, they can in no wiſe *enter into the kingdom of heaven*: For the Chriſtian Religion dwells not amongſt its outſide Rites and Solemnities; but its proper Temple is, the Heart and Spirit of Man; it

it reſides in the inmoſt receſſes of the Soul.

Now the Formaliſt is only for the external Acts, not for the internal Habits of Virtue and Goodneſs; his Actions, how good ſoever, iſſue only from fear, or cuſtom, or outward compliances, not from any good Temper or Modification of Mind; there appear no ſpots nor blemiſhes in his Face, his uncleanneſſes lodge within, and retire themſelves to the Centre of his Soul; thus his behaviour may be free from the common Pride and Vanity of the World, whilſt his mind is infected with the worſt Vices; the poſture of his Soul is as haughty and ſupercilious, as his demeanour is humble; his Thoughts as arrogant, as his looks are lowly. But our Saviour ever told his Followers, that his Religion was to be placed in a a ſober and ſilent Piety, in Candour, Mildneſs and Humility, in doing good to all Men; that all the myſtery of it, lay in a good and virtuous Life; ſo that all the nice Notions and Hypotheſeſes concerning Faith, Juſtification, Election, and ſuch like Articles, are but fooliſh Traditions of ſome ſpeculative Heads; and thoſe that are moſt earneſt in theſe Controverſies, are commonly moſt negligent of moral Duty; whereas true Religion is an active Principle within,

In what virtues our Savi- our placed his Religion.

in, that ſerves the Mind with all good and virtuous Qualities; it is, in a word, an inward ſenſe and love of Goodneſs, that is the Fountain of all good Actions.

A Mind temper'd with this Principle, ſuppreſſes all manner of untoward Paſſions; is governed by ſuch meekneſs, as abſolutely inclines it to pardon injuries, to delight in making good triumph over evil, and to ſatisfie it ſelf as much by forgiveneſs, as others are pleaſed with revenge: For where the inward temper of the Mind is truly humble, there a Man's inward eſteem of himſelf will be ſober and modeſt; his opinion of others candid and ingenuous: Wherefore if Men took as much care to fill their Souls with goodneſs, as well as their fancies with the notions of it, they would be as free from Paſſion, Self-will, and all other mental Vices, as from Drunkenneſs, Senſuality, and the other exorbitances of their bodily Appetites.

Having thus ſet forth the Character of Formality, I now deſcend to the Second thing, to diſcover by what Way and Method, it defeats the practice of moral Virtue; that perceiving its diſguiſes, we may not be impoſed upon: Now the Artifices, by which men are apt to delude themſelves, are mainly theſe, Firſt,

First, THEY think, they may be dispensed with in the Duties of *practical Virtue* for their extraordinary strictness in some Duties of Godliness; they weigh their acts of Devotion against all their miscarriages in *Morality*; if they do but *Fast twice a week*, they presently believe, that they may be allowed to be froward and peevish: Hence it is, that the grossest Vices are sometimes called *sins of Infirmity*; For when they imagine themselves in God's Favour for frequenting the places of Worship, for hearing Sermons and Prayers; they are ready to conclude their most heinous sins to be rather the weaknesses of their Natures, than obliquities of their Wills, taking the measures of Virtue and Vice, not from the nature of the actions themselves, but from the conditions of the Persons, that commit them; believing, that if a Man be once regenerated, all his sins are instantly changed into Infirmities: Thus the *Stoicks* of old made this one of their prime Paradoxes, that a wise Man of their Sect may be overcome with Wine, but can never be drunk; though to be overcome with Wine, be downright drunkenness in a carnal *Epicurean*; yet it was something else in a *great Stoick*.

How Immorality becomes uncurable.

Now Immorality under the disguise of piety becomes uncurable; Passion and Self-will is made more implacable by pretences to Sanctity, and Godliness without Virtue serves only to furnish the Conscience with excuses against Conviction; for it is easie to convince a debauched Person of his Distemper, from the blemishes, that are in all his Actions: But Hypocrisie by lodging it self in the Heart, and so by being undiscernible, becomes fatal, and the Man is past Recovery, before he feels his Malady.

THEREFORE of all men He, who hath the Form of Godliness only, is conceited with it, is the most desperate and incorrigible Sinner; For he thinks, the performance of the outward acts of Devotion will fix him so in a State of Grace, that he needs not any Virtue: Thus the Supercilious and self-confident *Pharisees* were at a greater distance from Heaven, than *Publicans* and *Harlots*; For these our Saviour could by his gentle Reproofs soften into a relenting and pliable Temper: But as for the *Pharisees*, their mistaken Piety only made 'em more obdurate and obstinate in sin, fearing their Consciences against the Force of his sharpest Convictions; so that He very justly consigned them up to an unrelenting and inflexible stubbornness. Second-

Secondly, MEN deceive their own Souls, when they think themſelves exempt from the Rule and Judgment of natural Conſcience, which they fanſie, exerciſes its binding Power only over thoſe, that are in a ſtate of Nature and Unregeneracy; but as for them, that are enlightened by the Spirit of God, they are directed by the Motions thereof, not by the Laws and Dictates of Nature: Hence the plain and practical Principles of Reaſon and Honeſty come to be neglected, and ever after men are led by giddy Enthuſiaſms, and are befooled by the temper of their Complexions; they derive all their religious Motions from the preſent ſtate and conſtitution of their Humours, and according as *Sanguine* or *Melancholy* are predominant, ſo the Scene alters. *How Men deceive their own Souls.*

BUT the Spirit of true Religion is of a ſedate Temper and dwells in the Intellectual part of a Man, and doth not work out or vent it ſelf in flatulent Paſſions, but all its Motions are gentle, compoſed, and grounded upon the Laws of Reaſon and Sobriety: The Impreſſions of the Divine Spirit are ſteddy, uniform, and breath not upon the Paſſions, but the Reaſons of mankind; all its Aſſiſtances work in a calm and rational way; they are not ſuch unſet- *In what manner the Spirit of Religion works.*

led and unaccountable motions as diſcompoſe, but enlighten our underſtandings; the Spirit of God only diſcovers the Excellency, and enforces the Obligation of the Laws of God to the Conſciences of Men, and works in us a reaſonable love of our Duty, and ſerious reſolutions to diſcharge it: Therefore the Spirit of every good Man is ſober, diſcreet, and compoſed, ſuch as becomes the gravity and ſerioufneſs of Religion; which floats not in his blood, nor riſes and *falls with the* Ebbs *and Tides* of his Humours; but he maintains a calmneſs and evenneſs of Mind in all the various Conſtitutions of his Body; he confines his Piety entirely within his Soul; and chearfully keeps it from all mixtures of Imagination, as knowing a Religious Fancy to be the greateſt Impoſtor in the World: And there is nothing, that ſpoils the Nature of the beſt Religion more, than outragious Zeal; which inſtead of ſweetning, embitters the minds of Men; ſo that thoſe Vices, which Moral Philoſophy would baniſh, are often kindled at the Altar of Religion; For it abuſes the prudence and diſcretion of good Men, abhors a Chriſt-like *meekneſs* and *ſobriety*, and fills their Religion with ill Nature and diſcontent: Hence it is, that

no

no Quarrels are ſo implacable as Religious ones; Men with great eagerneſs damn one another for Opinions and Speculative Controverſies.

IF this be Religion; farewel all the Principles of Humanity and good Nature; farewel that Glory of the Chriſtian Faith, an univerſal Love and kindneſs for all Men; let us bid adieu to all the Practices of Charity and to the Innocence of a Chriſtian Spirit: Let the Laws of our Saviour be cancel'd, as Precepts of Sedition; Let us baniſh Religion out of Human Converſe, as the Mother of Rudeneſs and incivility; Let us go to the School of *Atheiſm* and *Impiety* to learn good Manners.

BUT if nothing bids greater defiance to the true Spirit and Genius of Religion, than a *Form of Godlineſs, denying the Power thereof*; then let not the Wiſdom of God be charged with the Folly of Men: Let then the furious Sons of Zeal, without the Power of Godlineſs, tell me the meaning of ſuch Texts, as theſe; *Learn of me, for I am meek and humble; I beſeech you, that you walk worthy of the vocation, wherewith you are called with all lowlineſs, long-ſuffering, forbearing one another in Love; put on therefore, as the elect of God, holy and beloved,*

bowels of mercy, kindneſs, humbleneſs of mind, meekneſs, forgiving one another, if any man have a complaint againſt any, even as Chriſt forgave you; ſo alſo do ye: So ſaith *James* 3. *Who is a wiſe man, and endued with knowledg amongſt you, let him ſhew out of a good converſation his works with meekneſs and wiſdom*; He, that can reconcile theſe holy Precepts with a peeviſh or Cynical diſpoſition, may as well unite *Chriſt* and *Belial*; make a *Chriſtian*, and a *Phariſee* the ſame.

An exhortation to mind true and real Goodneſs.

WHAT remains then, but that we ſet our ſelves to a ſerious minding of true and real Goodneſs; that we trifle not away our Time in purſuing the Shadows of it, nor waſte our Zeal upon its Forms and Inſtruments; that we cheat not our Souls with a partial Godlineſs, nor damn them with an half-Religion: For we muſt meaſure our profitableneſs under the means of Grace, by the influences of it upon the obedience of our Lives; we muſt purſue Chriſtianity in its true and proper uſefulneſs; give a ſincere Obedience to every Law of Righteouſneſs; we muſt not divorce Piety from Juſtice and Charity, but join the love of God with the love of our Brother; be impatient againſt our own Sins, and other mens

mens Opinions; ſpend our Zeal in our own, and not other men's Buſineſs; be ever zealous for the prime and moſt ſubſtantial Principles of Religion, not for uncertain and unexamined Speculations; we muſt ſet our ſelves with all our might againſt our Luſts and our Paſſions; for all our Devotions without it will never expiate one habitual Sin, neither will a maimed or halting Religion ever arrive at Heaven: nothing but an entire Obedience to the Laws of Chriſt will gain admittance there; Let us therefore inform our Minds with the Excellency of true Religion and Goodneſs; Let us adorn them with an inward Purity and conformity to the Divine Will, accompliſh them with all Godlike Virtues and Perfections; We muſt be ſure to obey the Fundamental Laws of Juſtice, Mercy, Tempeperance, Humility, Meekneſs, Patience, and Charity; We muſt live up to all the Rules of Real and Eſſential Equity, and build all our hopes upon an unmaimed and ſolid Religion.

IN the ſecond place we muſt obſerve, That licentiouſneſs of Living hath brought a great decay upon *Moral Virtue*; The Chriſtian Religion, rightly underſtood, and ſincerely practiſed, ſerves no doubt to make

men more morally virtuous, than any other, that at this Day is, or ſince the Creation hath been profeſs'd in the World; not only in regard of Juſtice and Temperance, but of Wiſdom and Fortitude; But it will be ſaid, that ſince the firſt Plantation hereof, Men have from time to time degenerated, ſo as the farther they are removed from the Primitive Chriſtians, who ſhined in good Works, they have grown worſe and worſe; Since their times Zeal for Virtue hath decayed, as if it had not been the intrinſick Excellency of Religion, but the *Fires of Pagan* Perſecution, that kindled that Heat in the Breaſts of Chriſtians: What ſhall we take to be the reaſon of this decay; have the Principles of Chriſtianity loſt their Efficacy, like the *Gentile* Oracles, that all the motives of Virtue and Holineſs have now ſo little influence upon men's Tempers or Lives? or rather this muſt be the reaſon, that of old, Chriſtianity was rooted in the Hearts of Men, and brought forth the Fruits of good Works in their Lives; Whereas now it is only a barren Notion in Mens Heads, and their Actions are not governed by it; then it was the Employment of their Souls in Meditation, of their Hands in Beneficence; Now it is become a diſguiſe for Co-

The degeneracy of Mankind lamented.

Covetouſneſs, Ambition, Malice, and all that's Evil: It is true, in the ancient Authors, which ſtudious Men turn over, they find deſcriptions of *Virtues* more perfect, than really they were; the Governments are repreſented better, and the ways of Life pleaſanter, than they deſerved; upon this theſe bookiſh Men compare what they read with what they ſee, and here beholding nothing ſo Heroically tranſcendent, becauſe they are able to mark all the ſpots, as well as beauties of every thing, that is ſo cloſe to their ſight, they preſently begin to deſpiſe their own times, and exalt the paſt, to contemn the Virtues, and aggravate the Vices of their Age: But ſuch is the condition of Religion, that the Moral part of it ſuffers much by reaſon of the Debauchery and ill Manners of Men: And when lewdneſs hath gotten a habit, and Men's Foreheads are Brazen in their wickedneſs, they will not receive a check from diſarmed Religion; but rather harden themſelves againſt it, and account that their Enemy, which they are ſure will not give countenance to the Vices, they are now ſettled in: Beſides when a Licentious courſe of Life hath brought Men to diſuſe the Duties and Offices of Religion, all its Obligations are antiquated with them;

Debauchery a great Impediment to the growth of Religion.

them; then instead of Prayers they learn to Curse and Swear, and from not going to Church for a time, grow to plead a Priviledg not to come at it at all.

Secondly, NOT only looſneſs of Life, but alſo a wrong apprehenſion of Chriſtian Liberty, hath much obſtructed the Practice of moral Virtue; for ſome Men have thought themſelves diſcharged thereby from all the obligations of the Moral Law, and have been ſo abſurd as to take the Goſpel to contain nothing elſe properly, but a Publication of God's Promiſes, and that thoſe Promiſes are abſolute, without any Condition of our Obedience, ſo that neither men's Juſtification nor Salvation do depend upon it.

Libertiniſm a pernicious Principle.

THIS is the Doctrine of modern Libertines, and is a Perſwaſion fit to Debauch the whole World; about the Apoſtles times, it was much pleaded for by the *Gnoſticks*, to excuſe their revolts from Chriſtianity in Times of Perſecution, and their beaſtly Senſualities; as if the knowledg of the Truth gave a Priviledg, neither to profeſs nor practiſe it; when the one proved too incommodious to their ſecular Intereſts, or the other too diſguſtful to their ſenſual Inclinations.

WHERE-

WHEREAS the contents of the great Character purchaſed for us, and brought in by the Lord Jeſus, are theſe; that beſides the freeing us from the Dominion of Sin, which the Law of *Moſes* could not do, and the Tyranny of Satan, which the Gentile *World lay under*, He hath ſet our Conſciences at liberty from Judaick Rites, to purſue our own Reaſon, and to ſerve all the intereſts of Peace and good Order in the World; hence it is, that we find liberty and condeſcenſion or ſelf-denyal joined together by St. *Paul*, Gal. 5. 13. *ye have been called unto liberty, only uſe not liberty, as an occaſion to the fleſh, but by love ſerve one another*, and by St. *Peter*, 1. Eph. 2. 16. *as free, yet not uſing your liberty, as a Cloak of maliciouſneſs, but as the ſervants of God*: But if Religion ſhould ſet us free from the Rules of Virtue, all the duties of it would be uncertain and precarious things; nay it would deſtroy it ſelf, and the Societies of Men would be ſo far from being the better for it, that their happineſs would be undermined thereby; but this is ſo expreſsly contrary to the whole deſign of the Chriſtian Doctrine, and goes ſo croſs to the very Senſe of every honeſt Mind, that I ſhall not ſpend any more words about it. *What the Liberty is, which Chriſt hath purchaſed for us.*

IN

IN the Third place we are to consider, how the progress of Moral Virtue hath been discouraged by *decrying the Use of Reason* in Matters of Religion; as if Reason was not as much the Word of God, as Revelation; as if whatever contradicts Reason, was not opposite to Faith: For *Abraham*'s Reason was a great confirmation of his Faith; two Revelations were made to him, that seemed to clash one with another, and if his Reason could not have reconciled their difference, he could not have believed them both to have been from God; for Divine Revelation doth not give new Faculties to Men, but propounds new Objects to those Faculties; so that when God reveals any thing to us, He reveals it to our Understandings, that we may judg concerning it; that we may not believe every Spirit, but try whether they be from Him or no; now that which hath spoiled the Lives of many Men, is there assenting to such Doctrins, as never came from the Fountain of Truth; therefore to preserve our integrity and keep the Truth, we must try the Spirits and compare the evidences Men bring for what they assert, which it is not possible to do, but by the Use of our Reason: But to be confident and peremptory in

Our Reason confirms our Faith.

in any thing without Reaſon, is nothing, but obſtinacy of Mind.

WHEREAS if we turn off Reaſon, we level the beſt and moſt deſirable Doctrine in the World, with the vaineſt Enthuſiaſm; now by the Principles of Reaſon, we are not to underſtand the Grounds of any Man's Philoſophy, nor the *critical Rules of Syllogiſm*; but thoſe fundamental Notices, that God hath planted in our Souls; whereby we know, that every thing is made for an End, and every thing is directed to its End by certain Rules; theſe Rules in Creatures of Underſtanding and Choice, are Laws; and in Tranſgreſſing theſe, is Vice and Sin.

AS for Arguments from Scripture againſt the Uſe of Reaſon, 'tis alledged, that *God will deſtroy the wiſdom of the wiſe* and *that the world by wiſdom knew not God:* But by this *wiſdom* is not meant the Reaſon of Mankind, but the Traditions of the *Jews*, the Philoſophy of the Diſputing *Greeks*, and the Policy of the *Romans*; all which the Apoſtle ſets at naught, becauſe they were very contrary to the Simplicity and Holineſs, to the Self-denyal and Meekneſs of the Goſpel.

Second-

Secondly, IT is ſaid, that the natural Man receiveth not the Things of the Spirit of God, for they are Fooliſhneſs to him; neither can he know them, becauſe they are Spiritually diſcerned; by which Words nothing more is intended; than that a Man, who is guided purely by natural Reaſon and is not enlightned by Divine Revelation, cannot underſtand matters of pure Revelation, but he thinks them abſurd and fooliſh, till they are made known to him by the Revelation of the Spirit of God; and when they are ſo, nothing appears in the Myſteries of Religion, but what is agreeable to the ſoundeſt Reaſon and Wiſdom.

Thirdly, IT is urged, that our Reaſon is very liable to be miſled by our Senſes and Affections, by our Intereſts and Imaginations, ſo that many times we mingle Errours and falſe Conceits with the genuine Dictates of our Minds, and appeal to them, as the Principles of Truth, when they are the falſe Concluſions of Ignorance and Miſtake: All that can be infer'd from hence is, that we ought not to be too bold in defining Speculative and difficult Matters, nor ſet our Reaſonings againſt the Doctrines of Faith: But this doth not tend to the Diſreputation of Reaſon in the Object, that is, thoſe Prin-

Principles of Truth, which are Written upon our Souls; for if we may not uſe our Underſtandings, Scripture it ſelf will *ſignifie either nothing at all, or very little to us.*

THEREFORE to decry the Uſe of Reaſon, is to introduce Atheiſm; for what greater advantage can the Atheiſt have againſt Virtue, than that Reaſon is againſt the Precepts of it: This will make our Religion depend upon a warm Fancy, and an ungrounded Belief, ſo that it can ſtand only, till a new Conceit alter the Scene of Imagination. *The miſchief of decrying the uſe of Reaſon.*

Secondly, TO decry the Uſe of Reaſon, is to lay our ſelves open to infinite Follies and Impoſtures; when every thing that is reaſonable, is called vain Philoſopy; and every thing, that is ſober, carnal Reaſoning: This is the way to make up a Religion without Senſe, and without Moral Virtue; This is to put out our Eyes, that we may ſee, and to hoodwink our ſelves, that we may avoid the precipices of Vice: Thus have all extravagancies been brought into Religion beyond the imaginations of a Feaver, and the conceits of Midnight.

THE laſt and greateſt obſtacle to the Progreſs of moral Virtue is ſome Men's making

Grace and Morality are not oppoſites.

ing Morality and Grace oppoſite to one another: To divorce Grace from Virtue, and to diſtinguiſh the ſpiritual Chriſtian from the Moral Man, is a modern invention; for not one ancient Author, that hath treated of our Religion, did ever make any difference between the Nature of Moral Virtue and Evangelical Grace; Evangelical Grace being nothing elſe in their account, but Moral Virtue heightned by the Motives of the Goſpel and the aſſiſtances of the Spirit; both which are external Conſiderations to the Eſſence of the thing it ſelf; ſo that the Chriſtian Inſtitution does not introduce any new Duties diſtinct from the Eternal Rules of *Morality*, but ſtrengthens them by new Obligations, and improves them by new Principles: For,

THE Power to perform theſe Duties comes from the internal Operations of the holy Spirit, which applies the Motives of Religion to our Minds, and by them perſwades us to every good Action; that we are enlightned with the knowledg of Chriſt, cometh of his Gift, who diſpoſeth us to learn the *Truth*; that we attend to the Word of God and are wrought into a ſerious Temper; that we are excited to good Reſolutions

ſolutions and confirmed in them, cometh of his Grace, who putteth good thoughts into our minds, thereby moveth our Wills and Affections moſt powerfully to every good Work, or to every Moral Vertue, which conſiſts not only in the decency of outward behaviour, but is a prevailing inclination of the mind to thoſe Manners, or that way of Life, which is beſt for a reaſonable Creature; or it is an univerſal goodneſs of Manners in Mind and in Practice.

Now it is named *Virtue*, becauſe the ſtrength and vigour of a reaſonable creature, conſiſteth in a temper of Mind, and courſe of Life agreeable to right Reaſon; it is called *Moral*, becauſe it is converſant about the cuſtomary diſpoſitions and actions of reaſonable Creatures: ſo thoſe Laws, that are given with rational inducements to Obedience, are ſaid to be *Moral Laws*, as being proper and ſuitable to the nature of rational Beings, to whom they are preſcribed; and this in oppoſition to the Laws of Motion and Matter, by which God governs the reſt of his Works: for that Agent which hath no power over it ſelf, but acts, becauſe it muſt; whatſoever laudable effects it may produce; it is as uncapable of Morality, as thoſe ſenſeleſs Machines are,

that move by the Laws of Matter and Motion.

Now the duties required of us in the Covenant of Grace are *Moral* in the ſtricteſt Senſe; ſo that Holineſs and Moral Vertue are in truth the ſame things diverſly expreſſed; for to *do* that, *which is* good, and to *do it* well is the ſum of both: and it is plain that thoſe perfections in God, which our Holineſs is an imitation of, are Juſtice, Faithfulneſs, and Truth, his Patience, Mercy, and Charity; his hatred of Sin, and his love of Righteouſneſs; all which are Moral Perfections; and therefore when in theſe things we are followers of God our imitation of him does neceſſarily become *Moral Vertue*: and thoſe Duties, which work in us the neareſt likeneſs to Chriſt Jeſus, are Meekneſs, Humility, Patience, Self-denial, contempt of the World, readineſs to paſs by Wrongs, to forgive Enemies, to love and do good to all, are all in the moſt proper ſenſe Moral Vertues: indeed to *glorifie God in Jeſus Chriſt*, is an end of Obedience, which *Nature* teacheth not; but being made known by *Grace*, we are obliged to regard this end by the Rules of Morality; which are derived from Chriſt, and cauſed by the Spirit; ſo that we have no reaſon to boaſt

boaſt of their being ſo much in our own power.

WHEREFORE let not Men think they can be Holy without Moral Vertue; which they will be apt to do, whenever Grace is ſet in Oppoſition to Virtue; they may as well think they may be godly without Religion; Devout and Pious, without all ſober and ſincere uſe of their Underſtandings in ſpiritual matters, for this miſchief will certainly enſue upon it, that Men will embrace Metaphors and Allegories, fancies and forms of Speech, inſtead of the Subſtance of true and real Righteouſneſs.

The Duties of Morality are the moſt weighty concerns of Religion.

'TIS certain then, that the Duties of Morality are the moſt weighty and material Concerns of Religion: and as in the Ordinary Generation of Mankind that vital principle the Soul, forms and moulds the *fœtus* according to the ſpecifical Nature of Man, and never gives over, till it has worked the whole bodily Maſs into a full Complement of parts; ſo by a new Principle of Life, called *Grace*, and derived from God through Chriſt into the mind, true Wiſdom, Righteouſneſs, Juſtice, Holineſs, Integrity, and all the inſtances of Moral Vertue, are faſhioned by this quickning ſpirit, in the thoughts and actions of good and pious

Men: This makes the whole myſtery of Regeneration intelligible, ſo that any *Nicodemus* may diſcern the manner and reaſon of it; for to be born again, ſignifies in its utmoſt meaning, to become a ſincere Diſciple of our Lord Jeſus, and to be his Diſciple, is to believe and obey, as we are ingaged by Baptiſm; this being the cleareſt proof we can give to our ſelves or others, that we own him in good earneſt to be our Lord and Maſter, if for his ſake we love Truth and Goodneſs, above all worldly intereſts.

What is meant by the New Creature.

Now to be *Regenerate* is to be the *ſincere* Diſciples of Chriſt, which will qualifie a Man for the Kingdom of Heaven; and if that be true, it follows, that Regeneration and all thoſe other Metaphors, which expreſs the ſtate of a Man fitted for eternal Happineſs, do mean nothing elſe; but his being ſuch a Diſciple of Chriſt, as to believe in him, to love, and obey him; when the word of God, that Divine Seed, hath wrought its due and proper effects upon his Soul by its Precepts, the temper of his Mind, and the diſpoſition of his Will are agreeable to the Laws of God: therefore we uſe to ſay of a meek ſpirited Man, that he cannot be furious; and of an honeſt Man, that he cannot deceive; and of a generous Man,

Man, that he cannot do a baſe or unworthy Action; that is, it is *Morally* impoſſible, that he ſhould, it being directly contrary to the *Genius* and Senſe of his Soul ſo to do: juſt ſo it is with him, who is born of God, he cannot ſin, becauſe it is repugnant to the inclination and bent of his Nature; which being Holy, will produce a godly and vertuous Life.

THIS Notion of the *new Creature* will not ſuffer a Man to reckon himſelf Regenerate, who doth not amend his Life according to God's Holy Word; this will keep Hypocrites from pretending to be ſo, who are apt to think their *hearts* are *good*, when their *manners* are *naught*; But the ſtate of a Regenerate perſon is called *Spiritual*, as being cauſed by the Grace of God's Spirit; ſo it may be called *Moral*, as conſiſting in the conformity of our Minds and Actions to the Divine Laws.

NOW he, who makes a diſtinction between Grace and Vertue, a *Spiritual* and *Moral* ſtate, muſt think, that to disbelieve any of the Revelations, and to disobey any of the Commands of God, are not immoralities; or that a Regenerate ſtate doth not conſiſt in Faith and Obedience.

WHICH ſtate is called Regeneration, a Metaphor taken from a Natural Generation, becauſe there is ſo great a change, that a Man is as it were another Creature: For firſt the underſtanding muſt be informed with the knowledge of truth concerning God, themſelves, and a life to come, then this belief of the Goſpel will ſo work upon their Wills, that they ſhall be turned from Senſuallity to the love of Goodneſs; and this will produce a ſuitable change in their lives, which are not now led, according to the Luſts of the Fleſh, and the examples of ill Men, but the Laws of God and the Example of Chriſt: And thus we come to the true uſe of all our Faculties, as an Infant, after it is born, falls into thoſe Natural Motions, which are hindred by its impriſonment in the *Womb*: Nay by reaſon of that Divine temper, which is wrought in good Men by the Holy Spirit, they have *ſuch a ſenſe* of Good and Evil with regard to their Minds and *Conſciences*, as all living Creatures have with reſpect to their *Natures*: For as in the *Natural* Life we apprehend what is contrary to it, ſo that we will not run into the *Fire*, nor down *Precepices*; ſo in the Regenerate ſtate we ſhall look upon all kinds of wickedneſs, to be what they are, deteſtable and pernicious to

our

our Souls: but the Doctrine and Example of Chriſt do communicate to us a new ſenſe of things, whereby we are ſo much altered for the better, as if we had never lived till then; and we have infinitely more reaſon to think of this alteration in our ſtate, than to remember the *day* of our *birth* with joy and gladneſs.

FOR now God worketh in us both *to will and to do*; wherefore the fear and love of God, and godly Sorrow, and true Repentance, and the hope of Eternal Life, together with all Chriſtian Vertues, ſuch as Righteouſneſs, Mercy, Patience, Love, Joy, Long-ſuffering, Gentleneſs, Goodneſs, Faith, Meekneſs, and Temperance, are the Graces of the Spirit: From hence it follows, that God hath not left the ſucceſs of the Goſpel to depend upon that *force only*, which the *bare Revelation* of the motives to Obedience hath to perſuade us; if it ſhould be ſo, it would be now loſt labour to call upon God to help us by his *Grace*; but ſeeing all Vertues and qualifications neceſſary to Salvation are produced by the Grace of God; it follows, that all Chriſtian Vertues are the Graces of the Holy Spirit: For ſaith S. *James*, every good and perfect gift is from above, and cometh from the Father of Lights, with

All Moral Vertues are produced by the Grace of God.

whom is no *variableneſs* nor *ſhadow* of *Turning*.

AND S. Paul *ſaith, that Grace of God, that bringeth ſalvation hath appeared to all men, teaching us, that denying ungodlineſs and worldly luſts, we ſhould live ſoberly, righteouſly, and godly in this preſent world:* this one Scripture comprehends all that Men ought to account Religion; that they live *godlily*, which is the Vertue of humble gratitude towards God; *Soberly*, which contains the Vertues of Temperance, Chaſtity, Modeſty, and all others, that conſiſt in the dominion of Reaſon over our Senſual Appetites; *Righteouſly*, which implies all the Vertues of Juſtice and Charity, as Affability, Courteſie, Meekneſs, Candour and Ingenuity. Let Men contend, as long as they pleaſe, about the Modes and Circumſtances of Religion, all theſe diſputes are very inſignificant, if they do not iſſue in this, a *good Mind*, and a *good Life*.

The World was at firſt governed by the Dictates of Natural Light.

FOR the firſt two thouſand years of the World, God did Govern it only by the Dictates of Natural Light; and theſe were in thoſe days called the Precepts of *Noah*, the Preacher of Righteouſneſs; ever ſince that time to this day God hath Governed the greateſt part of the World by thoſe Prin-

Principles; and even ſince God's voluntary Diſpenſation, and poſitive Inſtitution, which began at *Moſes*, and hath continued to this time, He hath commanded the obſervance of theſe Rules: ſo that He hath never been more provoked, as when Moral Duties have been neglected, or when an indiſcreet Zeal for poſitive Inſtitutions hath been thought a ſufficient recompence for a failure in theſe:

FOR in Religion there are things of an alterable Nature, and there are things unchangeable and eternal, which can never be relaxed or omitted; and ſuch are all Moral Vertues; therefore to ſet them at odds with Grace, muſt needs be deſtructive to all true and real goodneſs; for if we ſhould ſet aſide all manner of *Vertue*, what remains to be called *Grace*: if Grace ſhould not be included in Morality, which conſiſts in the right order and government of our Actions in all our Relations, it muſt be a *phantaſm* and an *imaginary thing*: and all that the Scripture intends by the Graces of the Spirit, are vertuous qualities derived purely from God's free Grace and Goodneſs; wherewith in the firſt Ages of Chriſtianity He did in a miraculous manner inſpire the Converts of the Goſpel: and all the practical part of Religion is either Vertue it ſelf or ſome

ſome of its inſtruments; and the whole Duty of Man conſiſts in being Vertuous; and all that is enjoyned him beſide, is in order to it; that by the practice thereof he may live happily here, and be prepared for Happineſs hereafter.

In what manner the Grace of God begets Vertue.

Now the manner, wherein the Grace of God begets Vertue in the Minds of Men, is ſuitable to the Rational Nature of Mankind; we feel its operations no otherwiſe, than we do our own *thoughts*, neither can we diſtinguiſh them by their manner of affecting us from *our natural reaſonings*: but when we are bent upon the doing of God's Will; when we perform our Duty, and govern our Actions by his Word; then we may conclude, we are acted by the Grace of God; but if we forſake the ſteddy Rules of our Duty, we may take every violent impulſe for a ſuggeſtion of his Spirit; therefore unleſs we would expoſe our ſelves to infinite deluſions, we muſt try the Nature of all the motions of our Minds by *Scripture* and *Reaſon*: For we have no other way of aſſuring our ſelves, that we follow the guidance of God's Grace, but by following the Rules of his Word; and we quench the Motions of his Spirit oftentimes, when we imagin, that we only quarrel with our own thoughts, reject

reject the good Counſels of a Friend, the exhortations of a Preacher, or the rebukes of our own Conſciences.

BESIDES, when we are Born again and created New Creatures by this Spirit, we have the ſame Underſtanding and Will, we had before, but theſe are renewed, and made better: For the Precepts and Motives of the Goſpel prevailing in our Minds, are properly a Principle of Holineſs of Life in us; theſe will produce a proportionable change in our Wills and Affections, that from being addicted to evil, they may be ſtrongly inclined to what is good and vertuous.

THUS Grace and Vertue go hand in hand together; one being a certain Product of the other; Evangelical Graces being the ſame thing for ſubſtance with Evangelical Vertues, and theſe the ſame with Moral ones: hence it is, that the Word of God doth more effectually oblige and enable Mankind to an Holy Life, than any other Inſtitution could effect, or Philoſophy pretend; for Religion is the ſame now as it was in the ſtate of Innocence; for as then the whole Duty of Man conſiſted in the Practice of all thoſe Moral Vertues, that aroſe from his Natural Relation to God and Man; ſo all, that is ſuperinduced upon us ſince the Fall,

Fall, is nothing but helps, to ſupply our natural defects, and recover our decayed powers, and reſtore us to a better ability to diſcharge thoſe Duties we ſtand engaged to by the Law of our Nature, and the deſign of our Creation.

AND here what terms of wonder or of grief can be ſignificant enough to expreſs, or to bewail ſo ſtrange a decay of *Moral Vertue* among Men, that the *Light* of the World ſhould be ſo much darkned as it is; that the *Salt* of the Earth ſhould be corrupted; that Men ſhould loſe the ſubſtance of Religion in the purſuit of its ſhadows, and a general looſneſs ſhould ſwallow up all good Manners; that Men ſhould make uſe of Wit to decry ſound Reaſon, and to ſet *Vertue* at defiance with *Grace:* methinks, their doing ſuch acts ſhould ſtrike them out of the liſt of Rational Beings. But *Satan* is too ſubtle a mannager to loſe this advantage, and the event ſadly ſhews, he has not neglected to improve it; For when once Men can think they may be *Religious* without *Vertue*, they will be hardly brought to exchange the vicious cuſtoms of Life for an *habitual courſe of* goodneſs; they will not reſtrain their Appetites within the limits of Nature, nor ſacrifice their brutiſh Pleaſures

to

to the intereſts of Holineſs; in caſes of ſuffering for the Truth they will never endure any hardſhip rather than forſake ſo excellent an Inſtitution as the Goſpel: they will not believe themſelves bound to ſubdue their Senſual Appetites and Affections to their ſuperior Faculties in the methods of Reaſon and prudent Diſcipline: no leſs danger ariſes to the Souls of Men, when they labour after greater Excellencies over and above the common Vertues of Morality; in ſtriving to go beyond it, they run aſtray after Chimera's and illuſions of Fancy: And if they indulge this humour, it will betray them to neglect the plain and practical Principles of Reaſon and Moral Honeſty.

How the increaſe of Goodneſs is much hindred.

THESE and many more are the *Stratagems* of the Devil to bubble Men of their Salvation; to put a ſtop to the increaſe of Goodneſs in the World, and to hinder the Reformation of Mankind; who will never be at the trouble and pains of acquiring inward Righteouſneſs and Purity, when they imagin a few ſuperficial Notions, and extatical Whimſies may ſerve in the room of that induſtry, they ſhould joyn with the Operations of Grace for the getting a bleſſed Immortality.

THAT

THAT we may countermine these Plots of the evil Spirit against us, let us do as God hath commanded, which we must think not only possible, but easie and pleasant, especially when all his Evangelical Methods of Salvation are actuated by a concurrence of supernatural strength: For notwithstanding our many weaknesses, through Christ we may do all things; He alone gives us a will to use his *Grace*, and knowledge to discern the want of more.

THE proper Inference therefore from the whole is, that we resolve to go on in a good Course of Life, because by this means our Work will be easier to us, if we be diligent in governing our Conversation by the Rules of Vertue: the difficulty of Religion will still grow less, because our strength will increase, and God hath promised to give greater degrees of assistance to them that use what he hath already bestowed, then our endeavours must concur with this assistance which God gives; for the Spirit doth usually work insensibly upon the minds of Men, and therefore it is compared to the Wind, which no Man sees, whence it cometh, nor whether it goeth: even so is the Spirit of God, Men feel motions upon their Hearts, but how these are produced, is altogether

together invisible to them: when the Doctrine of the Gospel is propounded, and the *Word* is Preached, they find themselves convinced of the truth of it; and as their Minds are enlightned, so their Wills and Affections are warned to a complyance therewith.

Now when the Spirit of God hath begun this Work upon our Hearts, our business is to cherish those Motions, and to act accordingly; which if we do, and pray to God for his aid, we shall find supplies coming in from him, that will increase our strength unto that which is good and vertuous: for we must know, that the greatest difficulties in Religion are met withal at first; because at first God doth not usually bestow a great measure of his Grace: but he gives us a taste of his goodness, and if we relish it, he sends forth continually larger measures of his Grace and Favour.

The

The Concluſion drawn from all the Premiſſes.

SEEING then all the Precepts of Chriſtianity agree to teach and command us to moderate our Paſſions, in the juſt regulation whereof we have placed the very *Eſſence* of *Vertue*; ſeeing this was the end, which all Philoſophy aimed at, as the utmoſt felicity, that was attainable in this World: Let us make it our buſineſs to work out our Salvation by living according to theſe Rules, which we have here ſet down; for as they are not hard to be underſtood, ſo the performance of them is eaſie and pleaſant.

THEY Are not hard to be underſtood, becauſe God hath ſhewed us the difference between *Good* and *Evil*, *Vertue* and *Vice*;

Firſt, BY Natural Inſtinct.

Secondly, BY Natural Reaſon.

Thirdly, BY the common conſent of Mankind.

Fourthly, BY External Revelation.

FIRST there is a ſecret impreſſion upon the Minds of Men, whereby they are naturally directed to approve ſome things as *good*,

good, and avoid other things as *evil*; juſt as the Creatures below Men are by a natural Inſtinct led to their own preſervation, and to take care of their young ones. In like manner we find in human Nature a propenſity to ſome things that are beneficial, and a loathing of other things, that are hurtful to them; the former appear beautiful and lovely, the latter ugly and deformed. *Natural Inſtinct teaches us what is Good and what is Evil.*

Now theſe inclinations do not proceed from Reaſon, but from Nature, and are antecedent to all Diſcourſe, as it is manifeſt from hence, that they are as ſtrong, and do put forth themſelves as vigorouſly in young perſons, as in thoſe that are older; they do ſhew themſelves as much in the rude and ignorant ſort of People, as in thoſe who are more refined, and better inſtructed, which is a plain Argument that they come from *Nature*, and not from *Reaſon*; for if they proceeded from Reaſon, they would appear moſt eminently in thoſe perſons, who are of the beſt and moſt improved Underſtandings, and would be very obſcure in ſuch as exerciſe their Reaſon but a little: whereas experience ſhews us, that the moſt ignorant ſort of Mankind have as lively a ſenſe of Piety and Devotion, as great a regard to all kinds of Sobriety, as tender Affections to

their Children, as much honor for their Parents, as true a ſenſe of Gratitude and Juſtice, as the wiſeſt and moſt knowing part of Mankind.

AND theſe are the Duties that are of greateſt importance to us; ſo that the Providence of God appears herein to be wonderfully careful of the happineſs and welfare of Mankind, in that he hath wrought ſuch inclinations into our Natures, as to ſecure the moſt material parts of our Duty, in planting in us a natural ſenſe of *good* and *evil*; ſo that in many caſes if we do but conſult our own Natures, we need no other Oracle to tell us, what we ought to do, and what to avoid; how we ought to reverence the Divine Nature, honor our Parents, love our Children, be grateful to our Benefactours, and thoſe that have obliged us, to ſpeak the Truth, to be faithful to our Promiſes, to reſtore the thing that was intruſted with us, to pity thoſe that are in Miſery, and to deal equally with other Men, as we would that they ſhould deal with us. There is no need of any ſubtle reaſoning to prove the fitneſs or unfitneſs of theſe things, becauſe it is prevented by the very Inſtinct of Nature, which teaches us what we ought to do in theſe caſes.

FOR

FOR Men are naturally innocent or guilty in themſelves, according as they do, or omit theſe things; ſo the Apoſtle tells us in *Rom.* ii. 14, 15. *When the Gentiles, who have not the Law, do by Nature the things contained in the Law, they are a law unto themſelves, their own Conſciences in the mean time or by turns either accuſing or excuſing them, according as they do, or omit the doing of theſe things:* If Men obey the natural Dictates of their Minds, their Conſciences give them a comfortable teſtimony, as having done what became them to do: on the contrary when we affront Nature by acting againſt its ſuggeſtions, what trouble and uneaſineſs do we find in our own Breaſts; nay when a Man hath but a deſign to commit an evil deed, his Conſcience is diſquieted and perplexed at the thoughts of it, and he is as guilty as if he had really acted it. So *Cain*, when he contrived the murder of his Brother, the very imagination of the wickedneſs changed his Countenance, and filled him with Wrath and Diſcontent; for as ſoon as we have conſented to any iniquity, our Spirits receive a ſecret wound, and will make us reſtleſs; becauſe guilt doth not only fill the Mind with vexations, but puts it into an unnatural Fermentation, as the Prophet *Iſaiah* de-

ſcribes the wicked perſon, he is like the troubled Sea that cannot reſt; and I appeal to that which every Man finds in his own Breaſt, if he doth not feel a trouble within him upon his acting contrary to any Principle of Nature, or any *Notion* of *good* and *evil*.

The Virtuous Man is the moſt bold and undaunted.

BESIDES Men are naturally full of Hope or Fear, according as they follow or go againſt theſe Principles; who is ſo confident and bold as he who hath behaved himſelf well and virtuouſly; who is ſo ſtrong and well armed againſt the force of the Powers of Darkneſs, againſt the apprehenſions of a dreadful Judgment: theſe things are ſo terrible, that they muſt needs raiſe our fears; but the honeſt Man, who is not conſcious to himſelf of any guilt, is ſecure in his own Mind from any harm or prejudice from the Divine Juſtice either here or hereafter: whereas guiltineſs creates fears of danger without any other reaſon for it; and ſo the Scripture informeth us, that the wicked flyeth when no Man purſueth him; nay when a Man hath done a ſecret fault, which no Eye is privy to, nor no human Law can puniſh; yet even then he is conſtantly under the torment of his own thoughts, and hath a natural dread of a ſuperiour Being; to whom the

the moſt hidden Actions of Men are known, and whoſe Juſtice will not ſpare to puniſh.

FOR Men have naturally the Notions of good and evil within them; which in the plain caſes of Right and Wrong, will tell them what they ought to do, and what they ought to avoid; ſo that in acting well they will be juſtified and acquitted in their own Minds, but in doing the contrary they will be condemned.

BUT yet there is a conſiderable difficulty in this matter; becauſe the Opinions of Men have been much divided about Virtue and Vice; the different Laws and Cuſtoms of ſeveral Nations ſeem to argue, that they are not ſo well agreed about theſe things; conſequently the difference between Good and Evil is not ſo well known: more than this, there is in Mankind a propenſion to evil, and Men are generally vicious; which ſeems to contradict that natural Inſtinct, which ſhews us, as we ſay, what is Virtue, and what is Vice.

To this Objection we anſwer, that all Mankind are agreed, that thoſe Moral Virtues before mentioned ought to be practiſed, and that the contraries to them are Vices, and ought to be rejected; if any one particular perſon happen to be of another mind,

he is as rarely to be met with as Monſters, and no more to be drawn into an Argument againſt the truth of this Aſſertion, than a Man being born with three Legs can be an Argument, that Men naturally have not two. All Men have agreed that God is to be worſhiped, though they differ much about the particular circumſtances of his Worſhip: keeping of Faith all Men have held to be a Duty, though ſome ſay, Faith is *not to be kept with Hereticks*; but this is no prejudice to the Truth: it muſt be granted that there is not the like evidence in all things, that there is in ſome; and many things are not ſo clear, but that partial and inconſiderate Men may have wrong conceptions about them; but theſe may be remedied, if Men will be wiſe and conſider things as they ſhould do; if they will lay aſide violent prejudices and ſelf-Intereſt; for if they will govern themſelves like Men, and not be hurried away with Paſſion, they may come to underſtand *what is good*, and *what is evil*: it muſt be confeſſed, there is a great corruption in human Nature; and we muſt conſider that it is one thing to own the difference between Virtue and Vice; another thing to live and act according to this judgment. Although Men have the Notions of Good

It is one thing to know what Virtue is, and another to live according to that knowledg.

Good and Evil, yet after all they may chooſe the Evil, and refuſe the Good, and this the Apoſtle ſpeaks of in *Rom.* vii. 27. I delight in the Law of God in the inward Man; that is, my mind conſents to it, as Holy, Juſt, and Good; but here he tells us, he felt another Law in his Members, warring againſt the Law of his Mind, and bringing him into Captivity to the Law of Sin and Death, according to that of the Poet,

——*Video meliora proboque,*
Deteriora ſequor; ——

For a Man may be convinced of his Duty, but not act accordingly.

FOR by natural Inſtinct we know what we ought to do, antecedent to all Reaſon and Diſcourſe.

Natural Reaſon tells us what is our Duty.

Secondly, OUR Duty is alſo diſcovered to us by natural Reaſon; for the force of moral Actions are planted in Mens Minds, and woven into the frame of their Natures: but to make our Duty more plain, God by the light of Reaſon hath ſhewed us what *is good*, and what *is evil*; and not only ſo, but he ſtamps upon them the *Authority* of *Laws*; for theſe two are very different, to apprehend *a thing good for us to do*, and to be under the *Obligation of a Law to do it*; for to this it is neceſſary, we ſhould appre-

hend it to be the Will of our Superior, that we ſhould perform it.

NOW our Reaſon doth diſcover to us, what is Virtue, and that the Lord our God doth require our Obedience to it;

Firſt, BY ſhewing us how convenient and agreeable it is to our Natures.

Secondly, BY the tendency of it, to make us happy, and to free us from Evil and Miſery.

NOTHING is more ſuitable to our Natures, than to have an eſteem of what is great and excellent; and Mankind being taught, that all Perfection is in God, we muſt adore him; for that which is good, doth naturally beget Love and Reverence; ſo it is agreeable to our Natures, to honor our Parents, to be grateful for Benefits received, to be juſt and righteous, to be charitable, compaſſionate, and temperate; to be meek, humble, and prudent: Thoſe that act contrary to theſe Duties, offer an Affront to their own Natures, and feel a pain in themſelves, however they may carry it to others.

BESIDES, theſe things tend to make us happy, and to free us from Miſery; for Reaſon conſiders the conſequences of things; and we call that Virtue or Good, which will bring

bring ſome benefit to us, and that Evil or Vice, which is like to bring upon us ſome Inconvenience; upon this account Reaſon doth ſhew us what is good, and what is evil; to begin with Piety *towards God*; nothing is more reaſonable, than to make him our Friend, who is able to make us happy or miſerable; and the way to make him our Friend, is to obſerve all the Vertues of a good life; on the contrary, Impiety or a neglect of Vertue is plainly againſt our Intereſt; for this is to diſoblige him, who is more able to make us miſerable than all the World beſides, and without whoſe Favour nothing can make us happy: ſo that our Reaſon will require us to live vertuouſly; as for inſtance, If Nature did not teach us Gratitude, Diſcretion would, it being the only way to obtain a ſecond Favour, to be thankful for the firſt: Humility may ſeem to be a thing of no great Advantage, but he that ſhall conſider what contempt Pride expoſeth a Man unto, will be of another mind; Temperance tends to our Happineſs in this, that it tends to our Health, without which, all the Enjoyments of this Life are but little worth: on the other ſide, the intemperate Man is an Enemy to himſelf, continually making Aſſaults upon his own Life;

Life; the Apoſtle adviſeth, that we ſhould abſtain from fleſhly Luſts, that war againſt the Soul, and it ought to be no ſmall Argument to us, that they war againſt the Body alſo; ſo for Kindneſs and Love, beſides that they are good to others, they are of much uſe and benefit to our ſelves; for there is unſpeakable pleaſure in Love, a great deal of eaſe in a charitable Temper: on the contrary, how fretting and vexatious to the Mind of Man are Malice, Envy, and Hatred; they do not only raiſe Enemies abroad, but they ſet a Man againſt himſelf, and deprive him of the Peace of his own Mind: ſo Compaſſion and Mercy are not more profitable unto other Men than they are delightful to our own Souls; and we do not only gratifie our ſelves by doing Services to others, but we thereby provoke Mankind by our Example to the like Kindneſſes, and ſo turn the pity of others to our ſelves, when it ſhall come to be our turn to ſtand in need of their help. In like manner, our Reaſon directs us to the practice of Truth, Fidelity, and Juſtice, as the ſureſt Arts of thriving in this World; theſe beget Confidence, and give Men a Reputation in their Neighbourhood: and theſe Vertues, our Reaſon tells us, have the force of a Law; and there needs nothing

Compaſſion and Mercy is profitable to others and delightful to our ſelves.

nothing to *give the force of a Law* to any matter, but the ſtamp of divine Authority upon it. Now God, that made us and all other Creatures, and by virtue of his Authority over us hath imprinted on our Natures the Principles of Good and Evil; and hath ſo wrought 'em into the frame of our Souls, by which, as by a natural inſtinct, Men are carried to approve what is good, and diſapprove what is evil; and ſuppoſing that our natural Reaſons do tell us, that it is for our Intereſt to live in the practice of what we call Vertue, and to diſlike and avoid what we call Vice; this is a ſufficient declaration, that we ſhould do the one and avoid the other; and if we live contrary to this, we violate *the Law* of him that made us; for there needs nothing to make a thing become *a Law* to us, but that it is the Will of our Sovereign, who hath Right to require it of us: And this God hath declared to Mankind by the frame of their *Natures*, and by thoſe principal Faculties he hath endued us withal; for no Man can imagine but that we ſhould follow the Inſtruction of our Nature, and be governed by the natural Notions of our own Minds. And thoſe natural Paſſions of Hope and Fear, that are ſo rooted in our Souls, we cannot, without great force

Hope and Fear are two very ſtrong Paſſions.

force to our ſelves, act contrary to them. And this is all the *Law* that great part of Mankind comes under, and which is no other than that which the Apoſtle calls the Work of the Law written upon their Hearts; and they having no other Revelation made to them, ſhall be judged by it; and thoſe that offend againſt this Law ſhall be found guilty before God, as well as thoſe that have ſinned againſt an expreſs Revelation; which is a plain Evidence, that theſe natural Dictates have the force of a Law, otherwiſe Men would not be guilty of any Crime by acting againſt them; for it is a Rule univerſally true, that where there is no *Law* there is no *Tranſgreſſion*; and this I take to be the meaning of that obſcure Paſſage of the Apoſtle *Rom.* v. 13. for *until the Law, Sin was in the World*, that is, before the Law was given unto *Moſes* Men were capable of Sinning, and therefore there was *another Law*, againſt which they offended; for Sin is not imputed where there is no Law: But Death reigned from *Adam* to *Moſes* even over them that had not ſinned after the ſimilitude of *Adam*'s Tranſgreſſion; that is, tho they did not ſin againſt any expreſs Law of God, as *Adam* did. Thus Reaſon diſcovers to us, how that the natural Dictates of our Minds have the force of a Law. Hence

HENCE we may infer, that Mankind would have been under the Obligation of Religion, tho God had never made any immediate Revelation of his Mind and Will unto them: if this was not ſo, the Heathen, who had no ſupernatural Revelation from God, could not have been guilty of Sin, nor liable to his Judgment; for if nothing *were Vertue* or *Vice*, but what was either expreſly commanded or forbidden by God, then *all Actions* would have been alike to the Heathen: But there are ſome things *naturally* good, and ſome things *naturally* evil, and Men are bound to do the one and fly the other, tho God had never made any ſupernatural Revelation of his Will to them. For if God had never forbidden Hatred and Malice, with Deceit, Oppreſſion, Violence, and the like Paſſions; they would have appeared evil in themſelves, and ought not to have been done by us; becauſe they are inconſiſtent with the Peace of Human Society, and contrary to the Nature and Reaſon of Mankind; ſo on the other hand the Vertues oppoſite to theſe, as Love to God, together with Truth and Juſtice one towards another, have ſuch Goodneſs in them, that they are commended to the liking of Mankind without the need of any abſolute Declaration

tion to oblige Men to the practice of them. If these things were not so, the Tables might have been turned, and all that which we now call Vertue, might have been forbidden by God, and things would have been every whit as well; and there would have been no difference, only the Names of things would have been changed.

The nature of Good and Evil is unalterable.

But I appeal to any ones Reason, whether he can think it as vertuous an Action to hate God, as to love him; to contemn, as to honor him; and whether Malice, Envy, Hatred, and Ingratitude, would have made as much for the Peace of Mankind, as the practice of Love and Goodness would have done; if they would not, then it is manifest, that there is something in the Nature of Things, that made the difference: and so long as the Nature of God and Man remain what they are, some Things will be in their own Natures unalterably good, and some things evil; which doth not depend upon any arbitrary Constitution, but is founded in the Nature of the Things themselves.

The general consent of mankind shews what is Virtue and what is Vice.

Thirdly, What is Virtue, and what is Vice, is shewn to us by the general vote and consent of Mankind; which we do not extend to all the instances of Virtue and Vice, but only to the great and more essential parts of

of it; ſuch as Piety to God, Adoration of the Divine Nature, Gratitude to Benefactors, Temperance, Meekneſs, Charity, Juſtice, Fidelity, and ſuch like: theſe are agreed upon by mankind to be good, and the contrary to theſe evil; for they are generally had in eſteem by Men, and their oppoſites are evil ſpoken off; now to *praiſe* any thing is to give teſtimony to the goodneſs of it, and to *diſpraiſe* any thing, is to declare it to be evil: and if we conſider the Cuſtoms of the World, and the inſtances of all Ages, we ſhall find that the Things that have been praiſed in the lives of Men, are the Piety and Devotion of Men towards their Gods, their Temperance and Gratitude, their Juſtice and Fidelity, their Humanity and Charity. The contraries to theſe have been ever condemned, as Atheiſm and Profaneneſs, contempt of God and Religion, Ingratitude, Falſneſs, Oppreſſion, Cruelty. Nay, ſo ſteddy hath mankind been in commending Virtue, and cenſuring Vice, that we ſhall find not only the virtuous themſelves giving their teſtimony to Virtue, but even thoſe that *are vicious*, have ſo much Juſtice as to ſpeak well of Moral Virtues, not out of love to them, but becauſe their Affections are prevented by

Vicious Men ſpeak well of Virtue.

by the Conviction of their own Minds, and the teſtimony of theſe perſons is the more valuable, becauſe it is that of an Enemy: for Friends are apt to be partial, but the acknowledgement of an Enemy is of great weight, becauſe it ſeems to be extorted from him, and that which he is even forced to do againſt his will. And it is a clear evidence that Vice is generally cryed down by Mankind, becauſe thoſe that are ſo kind as to ſpare themſelves, are yet very quick-ſighted to ſpy a fault in any one elſe, and will arraign Vice in another with very much freedom.

HENCE it is, that the Scripture commands, that our Light ſhould ſo ſhine before Men, that they may ſee our good works *Matth.* v. 13. Charges us to promiſe things honeſt in the ſight of all Men, *Rom.* xii. 17. To have our Converſation honeſt among the Gentiles, that is, to do thoſe things which the Light of Nature cannot but approve of, 1 *Pet.* ii. 12. By well doing to put to ſilence the ignorance of fooliſh Men: for this, ſaith the Apoſtle, is the Will of God; by which it is intimated, that there are ſome Virtues ſo good in themſelves, and ſo owned to be ſuch, that the worſt of Men have not the face to open their mouths againſt them.

BESIDES

BESIDES Mankind do generally ſtand upon their Juſtification when they are conſcious to themſelves, that they have done well, but are aſhamed, when they have done ill: Some indeed are ſuch Monſters of Impiety, that they can glory in their Shame; but theſe are but few in compariſon, and they attain to this Temper by a long habit of great and enormous Vices: But generally Men are Modeſt and are apt to Bluſh at what they do amiſs: Now Shame is a Trouble ariſing from a Senſe, that we have done amiſs, and have forfeited our Reputation; *Guilt* is a *Paſſion* towards our ſelves, but *Shame* is with reſpect to others; ſo that he, who is aſhamed of an Action, doth thereby declare, that he hath acted amiſs, and that, what he hath done, is accounted ſo by others; for if he did not believe, that Men had a bad opinion of ſuch actions; however he might be *guilty* in himſelf, he would not be aſhamed in reſpect of other Men: But when Men have walked by the Rules of Virtue, the Conſcience of their Integrity lifts up their Heads, becauſe they are ſatisfied, that other Men have a good eſteem of their Actions: And tho Men ſometimes will declare their diſlike of the Ways of Virtue, *What Shame is.*

yet they have a ſecret reverence for thoſe, that do well, and when their Paſſions are over, they cannot but declare their Approbation and frequently do ſo: And this is a great evidence of the Conſent of Mankind about Virtue and Vice; for that thoſe, that do their Duty, act above Board, and live in the Practice of Goodneſs, need not hide their Faces, nor ſeek dark corners to do their work in, as they, who are forging evil deeds, muſt do: For no Man is aſhamed to meet another, with whom he has kept his Word and performed his Truſt, as he, who hath done otherwiſe, is wont to be; Glory and Shame, being an appeal to the Judgment of Mankind, concerning the *Good* or *Evil* of our Actions.

All Men have a ſecret reverence for thoſe that do well.

Now Vices, ſuch as Murder, Adultery, Drunkenneſs, Rebellion, Sedition, Fraud, Perjury, and breach of Truſt, are provided againſt by moſt Nations, and ſeverely puniſhed by the Laws of moſt Countrys, which is a demonſtration, what opinion all Nations have had of theſe things; but there was never any Law made againſt Virtue; no Man was ever forbidden to honour God; tho particular Ways of Worſhip have been prohibited; no Man was ever forbidden to be grateful, faithful, temperate, juſt;

No Law ever made againſt Virtue.

juſt, righteous, honeſt, charitable, and peaceable; which is an acknowledgment, that Mankind always thought 'em good, and were never ſenſible of any harm or miſchief to come by them; for had they done ſo, they would at ſome time or other provided againſt 'em by Laws; but as the Apoſtle ſaith, againſt theſe things there is no Law; as if he had ſaid; turn over the Laws of *Moſes*, ſearch thoſe of *Athens*, read over the Twelve Tables of the *Romans*, and you ſhall not find one of thoſe Virtues that are commanded in the Scripture, condemned or forbidden; a ſure and clear proof, that Mankind never took any exception againſt them, but reſted in the goodneſs of them; that they were neceſſary and profitable for all things.

Now this general conſent of Mankind about what is Good and Evil, is a very good Argument of their being ſo in Truth and reality; for the Conſent of Mankind is the Voice of Nature, and the Voice of Nature is the Voice of God, the Author thereof; for *Tully tells us*, that God would not have planted theſe Notions in the Minds of Men, had they not been agreeable to the Truth of Things; there is no better way to eſtabliſh, what is Natural, than if

the whole *kind agree* in it, and if it be Natural, it is from God, and whatever is from God, is Real and True: Now I have proved, that God hath planted in Humane Nature, a Senſe of the difference between Virtue and Vice, and hath made us able to judg, what is Good, and what is Evil.

BUT beſides this, there are but two Cauſes, into which this general Conſent of Mankind can be reſolved, *Tradition* and *humane Policy*; not Tradition, becauſe that is inſufficient for ſo large and long a Conveyance of ſo many particulars, as the Law of Nature conſiſts in, throughout all Ages and Nations; for the Traditions of particular Nations, which are ſuppoſed to be Arbitrary, and to have no foundation in Reaſon and Nature; theſe do depend wholly upon inſtruction and memory, and cannot be preſerved without them; but we ſee among the Rude and Ignorant, upon whom hardly any care or inſtruction is uſed, men have as lively a ſenſe of the difference between virtue and vice, in many particulars, as the more learned part of the World; which is a plain Argument, that theſe things are not conveyed to us by Tradition: Nor can they be applyed to *humane Policy*; for many of theſe things were never enacted

ed by humane Laws, and yet they obtain among Mankind, as Gratitude, Charity, and ſuch like; *Seneca* ſays, that Gratitude was never enjoyned by any Law, but that of the *Macedonians*; which plainly ſhews, that theſe things owe their *Original* to ſome other Cauſe, and that they are to be attributed to Nature, the Author of which is God; and the general Conſent of Mankind is an argument of their Truth and Reality.

HOWEVER it is Objected, that ſeveral Perſons, and ſome whole Nations have differed about ſome of theſe things, ſo that this Conſent is not ſo general; beſides the Conſent of the World in Superſtition and Idolatry, may ſeem to weaken this Argument from the univerſal Agreement of Mankind about *Good* and *Evil*.

WE Anſwer, that it is not denied, but that Men may ſo vitiate their Natures, as to loſe the ſenſe of Virtue and Vice; yet it may remain true, that Mankind have a natural Senſe and Knowledg of them; as ſome by Luſt and Intemperance may ſo ſpoil their Palates, that they may not taſte the difference of Meats and Drinks; yet this laſt is never the leſs natural to Mankind; for there is a great deal of difference

Nature may be ſo vitiated as to loſe the Senſe of Virtue and Vice.

between Natural and Moral Agents; natural Agents always continue the ſame, but voluntary Agents may vary in ſome things, that are Natural; eſpecially where Men have Debauch'd their Natures, and have offered great violence to themſelves: more than this, the exceptions are not ſo general, as to infringe the univerſal Conſent of Mankind; the difference is but in few things, and therefore they are taken notice of, and being collected together in Hiſtory they may ſeem a great many; but that they are particularly noted, is a ſign, they are but few; what if one Philoſopher mentioned, that Snow was Black, and Ten more had been of his Mind; this would have been no objection againſt the Senſe or Reaſon of Mankind; for all Men agree, that Self-preſervation is a natural Inſtinct; notwithſtanding ſome particular Perſons have offered violence to their own Lives: As to Superſtition or Idolatry, there hath been no ſuch agreement of Mankind in that, as to prove it to have a Foundation in Nature; for it is confeſſed, that it was not always practiſed in the World; but that it had a Beginning; and indeed it grew up by degrees and ſprang out of the Corruptions of Mankind; and therefore Time was, when there was no ſuch thing; ſo that it does not owe its Riſe to Nature,

Nature, but to the defection of Mankind: For while Idolatry prevailed in the World, it was condemned by ſeveral Men, as a ſtupid and ſottiſh Thing; tho they had not the courage to declare againſt the Practice of it; ſo that whilſt it was uſed by the generality of the World, it was cenſured as a great Folly, by thoſe, that were *beſt able to judg*.

Laſtly, WE know what is *Virtue* and *Vice*, Good and Evil, more diſtinctly, by *outward Revelation*; in former Ages of the World, God was pleaſed to reveal his Will ſeveral Ways, and more eſpecially to the Nation of the *Jews*, the reſt of the World being left ſolely to the dictates of natural Light; But in the latter Ages of the World, it pleaſed God to make a publick and more full Declaration of his Mind by his Son, and this Revelation is for Subſtance the ſame with the Law of Nature; our Saviour comprehended it under theſe two Heads, the *Love of God* and of our *Neighbour*; the Apoſtle reduceth it to Sobriety, Righteouſneſs and Piety; for the Grace of God, that bringeth Salvation, teacheth us to deny all ungodlineſs and Worldly Luſt; and to live Soberly, Righteouſly and Godly in this preſent World; ſo that if we believe

Outward Revelation diſcovers to us, what is Virtue and what is Vice.

the Apoſtle, the Goſpel teacheth us the very ſame things, that Nature dictateth to Mankind; for theſe are the very Virtues, which natural Light prompts Men unto; only we allow a more perfect diſcovery of them by the Goſpel; and to convince Men of the Good and Evil, that are affixed to Virtue and Vice, there are great and eternal Rewards promiſed to one, and endleſs Puniſhments threatned to the other; ſo that now Mankind have no cloak for their Sin; their Duty being ſo clearly laid open to them; and the Rewards and Puniſhments of another Life ſo plainly revealed; all the defects of the natural Law, and the Corruptions of it through the degeneracy of Mankind, being fully ſupplyed by the Revelation of the Goſpel: So that we may now much better ſay, than the Prophet could in his days, *Mich.* 6.8. *He hath ſhewed thee, O Man! what is good, and what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do juſtly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God*

BUT as to external Revelation it is Objected, that the Scripture is very obſcure, and gives us not ſufficient direction in Matters of *Faith:*

WE Anſwer, that this Objection hath no Colour of Truth in it; for if the Church of

of *Rome*, to whom are beholden for this Objection againſt the Word of God, and who are ready upon all occaſions to quarrel with it; Yet they do not deny, but the Scriptures are plain, as to Precepts of Life and Practice; but as to matters of Faith, they pretend its defection in, as if God had not intended to reveal, but conceal his Mind in theſe things; Indeed they have ſome reaſon to pretend this, conſidering, how hard it is to find ſeveral of their Doctrines in the Scripture; but as to *the moral Precepts* of a good Life, they all grant, that they are clearly delivered in the holy Scripture; ſo that this Objection about the obſcurity thereof doth not lie againſt what I have been ſpeaking.

THEREFORE ſeeing *Moral Virtues* may be plainly underſtood by *Natural Inſtinct*, *Natural Reaſon*, the *conſent of Mankind*, and *outward Revelation*, we muſt in the next place ſee, how eaſie and pleaſant they are to be practiſed.

Firſt, THEY are eaſie, becauſe we are aſſiſted in the practice of them by the Holy Spirit of God, againſt all difficulties whatſoever.

Secondly, THEY are both eaſie and pleaſant, becauſe they are profitable for all things,

things, improve our Understandings, and bring peace to our Minds.

Whence the difficulties of a virtuous Life do arise.

FOR our Christian Race is a Warfare, and we have many Conquests to make over the corruptions of our Natures, the influences of Sense, and the disorders of Passion; These are the rubs in our way, which make a virtuous course so difficult at first; because to cast off old Habits of Vice and Folly, to which they have been long accustomed, is That, at which men are generally galled: For a State of *Vice* and of *Virtue* are not like two Ways, that are just parted by a line, so as that a Man may step out of the one full into the other, when and how he pleases; but they are like two Ways, that lead to two very distant places, one where Happiness is, the other, where Destruction; so that they are as far separated, as Heaven and Hell are: For the farther a Man hath travelled in the ways of Vice, he is at the greater distance from those of *Virtue*; so that it requires time and much striving too, to pass from the one to the other; it being a long and severe Conflict to master evil Habits; the Temptations of the World and of the Flesh will rally and make head again, after they have been beaten off.

NOT-

NOTWITHSTANDING theſe Difficulties the ſeeds of *Virtue* under the Influences and Care of the Divine Spirit will get the better, and grow up to ſuch a ſtrength, as will conquer them: It is indeed a very unpleaſant ſight for a vicious Perſon to look into himſelf, or to conſider on his bad courſes; therefore he labours all he can to ſtifle his Reaſon, that he may not think, what will be the ſad iſſues of an ungodly Life? Hence it is, that all Men find ſome bitterneſs in caſting off their Luſts, according to the progreſs they have made in Vice: For if we intend to lead a vertuous Life, we muſt conſider, that many Virtues are to be practiſed, before the contrary Vices will be ſubdued; We have many irregular Paſſions to bring into order, and muſt root out all the power of evil Cuſtoms; We have a Body of ſin to put off, which clings cloſe to us, and are bound to cleanſe our ſelves from all filthineſs both of Fleſh and Spirit, and to *perfect holineſs in the fear of God*; to encreaſe and improve our Virtues; that is, add to *our Faith Knowledg, Temperance, Patience, brotherly Kindneſs, and Charity*; *to abound in all the fruits of Righteouſneſs, which are by Jeſus Chriſt to the praiſe and glory of God.*

A vicious Perſon is a very unpleaſant ſight to himſelf.

THIS

THIS Change cannot be wrought without ſome trouble; this New-birth cannot be brought about without ſome bitter Pangs; a thorow Reformation of Manners being a work, that requires much time, deliberation, and labour to effect it: However we ſhould not be diſcouraged; For ſo ſoon as we have begun a good courſe of Life, we are in ſuch a way, as God will help us in; and if we purſue our advantages, we ſhall every day gain ground, and the work will grow eaſier upon our hands; and though we may be a little diſheartned at firſt at the hardſhips of *Virtue*, yet after a little while we ſhall be enabled to run the way of God's Commandments with pleaſure.

A good courſe of Life is always under the influence of God's Spirit.

FOR nothing is more hurtful to a virtuous and holy Life, than to believe that God requires thoſe things of us, that He hath not given us ſtrength to perform; whereas God takes delight in beſtowing the gifts of his Spirit upon us; nothing being more pleaſing to him, than that we ſhould partake of his Divine Nature, and be made Holy, *as he is holy*; that we ſhould be brought back to that State, wherein we were when we came out of his hands: Therefore one of the greateſt diſcouragements

to

to a virtuous Life is a falſe and unworthy repreſentation of God, as if the greateſt part of the World were really deſtitute of any ability to do thoſe things which his Goſpel requires, and yet ſhould be condemned for not doing them. Theſe are hard things to be ſaid of the beſt *Being* in the World; of one, whom we believe to have infinitely more goodneſs in him, than is among all the Sons of men: So that S. *James* 1. 5. ſays, *If any Man lack wiſdom, let him ask it of God, who giveth liberally and upraideth not*; By which Wiſdom are meant all the Fruits of the Spirit; for ſo S. *James* hath deſcribed it; that it is firſt *pure*, then *peaceable, gentle, eaſie to be entreated, full of mercy and good works:* Indeed when we think of our own weakneſs, the corruptions of our Natures, the ſtrength of our Luſts, and the malice of our Spiritual Adverſaries; we are apt to deſpond, like the Children of *Iſrael*, when they heard of the Sons of *Anak* in their paſſage to the Holy Land; But if we would look beyond our ſelves and our Enemies, as *Caleb* and *Joſhua* did, to the power of the Lord; we ſhould, as the Apoſtle ſaith, *of weakneſs become ſtrong, and put to flight the Armies of the Aliens.* For we read 2 *Kings* 16. 13. of *Eliſha's*

A falſe Notion of God is a great diſcouragement to a virtuous Life.

Eliſha's Servant, that he came to his Maſter in great perplexity of mind, and ſaid unto him; *alas, Maſter, what ſhall we do? Behold an Hoſt hath encompaſſed the City both with Horſes and Chariots*; But when he had opened the Eyes of the young Man, he beheld the Mountains full of Horſes and Chariots of Fire about *Eliſha*; Thus if our Eyes were opened to view the ſecret Aids, that are ready to join us in the courſe of *Virtue*, our Fears would ſoon vaniſh, and we ſhould take courage againſt all the Enemies, that do aſſault us, not only *fleſh and blood*, but *Principalities and Powers, and ſpiritual wickedneſſes in high places*. For ſaith our Saviour, S. *Luke* 19. 26. *To every one that hath, ſhall be given, and from him, that hath not, ſhall be taken away That, which* He *hath*: which was a *proverbial* Speech among the *Jews*, and ſignifies thus much, that, He who improves the Grace of God, ſhall have more, and from him, who makes no uſe of it, ſhall be taken away That, which he hath made no improvement of: For no Man, who enjoys the Goſpel, is deſtitute of ſufficient means of Salvation, if he be not ſome way or other wanting to himſelf: To what end elſe do we perſuade Men to ſubmit to the Terms of it; to repent and believe

The Goſpel affords to all ſufficient means of Salvation.

believe; to *deny ungodlineſs and wordly Luſts*; When we know, they have no power to do, what we exhort them to, and God hath reſolved to withdraw from them that Grace, which is neceſſary for theſe purpoſes: For if a Man thought, that God gives that Grace, whereby we may be ſaved only to a few, and that he always works upon thoſe, to whom he gives it, in ſuch a manner, as they cannot reſiſt; Why then ſhould we do any thing in Religion; becauſe unleſs we be of the number of thoſe whom God hath decreed to work effectually upon, we can do nothing towards the getting Salvation; and if we be of that number, *we need do nothing at all*; for it will certainly prevail, oppoſe it what we can; Nay, if God doth not afford ſufficient Grace to every man, whereby he may lead a virtuous Life; how ſhall He govern the World? how ſhall men be condemned for not doing their Duty; in particular for not believing and repenting, when without God's Grace it was impoſſible to do either.

BUT we profeſs to believe, that the Judg of all the World will do right, and if we do this, we muſt underſtand, that there will be nothing in God's proceedings at the day of Judgment, that will then be eſteemed

ed unjuſt by the Sons of Men; for it is impoſſible, that we ſhould conceive any other Notion of Juſtice in God, than what is owned for *juſt* among Men; were it otherwiſe, God would not appeal to Men concerning the Equality of his Ways; for if the ſame Notion of Juſtice be not in God, as is in Men; we know not what it is, that is juſt in God, neither can we judg concerncerning the Equality or the Juſtice of his Proceedings: upon this account it is granted, that the Heathen to whom the Goſpel of Chriſt never came, ſhall not be condemned for their unbelief; it being unjuſt to condemn men for not believing that, which was never propoſed to them for their Faith; this would be, to oblige men to things, that are impoſſible, which no Law nor Equity can do: But far be it from us to entertain any thoughts unworthy of God, or to ſay that of the beſt Being, which we would account a reproach to our ſelves: Since then the Grace of God hath brought Salvation to us, it is our own fault, if we fall ſhort of it, and our own Conſciences will accuſe us as unworthy of Eternal Life, becauſe God hath done his part, if we be negligent in doing ours: For the *Scripture* attributes to *us* That, *which God does*, and *bids us do* That,

What is juſt in Man, is juſt in God.

That, which God *did with* us, and That, *which we do*, is *attributed to* God, and *That*, which *God does by* us, is *aſcribed both to God* and us; we *work*, and *God works*, by whom we are awakened, directed, aſſiſted: The Controverſies are very hot, and very long, and intricate about theſe things; but I think, a right ſtating the matter, would extinguiſh them from being in the World.

SINCE that Grace, which is neceſſary to Salvation, is afforded us, we cannot pretend any diſcouragement, but have all the reaſon in the World to ſet our hands to this Work, and to be doing our Duty, becauſe the Lord is with us; and he hath ſaid, *we ſhall not be tempted above what we are able to bear*: we ſhall have ſuch an inward aſſiſtance of the Spirit of God, as is neceſſary to receive and help the weakneſs of our Natures, and that impotency, which Men generally contract by vicious Habits; and this Grace of God goes along with the external Revelation of the Goſpel, and accompanies all thoſe, who by their wilful reſiſting and oppoſing it, have not provoked God to withdraw it from them; and then we make uſe of this Grace, when we are careful to enquire into this Revelation, and do what we can to act accordingly.

Grace neceſſary to Salvation is afforded us.

receive

And as our Minds are enlightned by it, ſo our Wills and Affections are warmed to a complyance therewith; we ſhall find a gentle heat in our Hearts, inclining us to a ready Obedience to the Precepts of Gods Word, and to live in all Godlineſs, as it requires; for when a Man is diſpoſed to the Practice of Virtue, he hath juſt reaſon to conclude, that the Spirit of God is at Work upon him: Therefore we ought to go on in a good courſe of Life, becauſe our work will be *eaſier* to us, the difficulties of Religion will ſtill grow leſs, becauſe our ſtrength will encreaſe, and God hath promiſed to give greater degrees of aſſiſtance to them, *who uſe*, what He hath already beſtowed.

The practice of Moral Virtues is both eaſie and pleaſant.

Secondly, THE Practice of Moral Virtues is both eaſie and pleaſant, becauſe they are profitable for all things, improve our Underſtandings and bring Peace to our Minds: Now Profit and Advantage have a ſtronger influence upon the affections of Mankind, than any thing elſe; if then we can reconcile Virtue with the Intereſts nnd Profits of Men, they may be perſwaded to embrace a virtuous Courſe of Life; which doth much conduce to our Health, not only in a *Spiritual*, but *Natural Senſe*, becauſe vicious Courſes in the Nature and Tendency of them, do deſtroy the Conſtitution of our

our Bodies: But Religion doth oblige us to the exerciſe of ſuch particular Virtues, as do as naturally tend to our Welfare and Long-Life; for Diſeaſes are prevented by living abſtemiouſly, and the firm Eſtate of the Body depends upon Chaſtity; the quiet both of Mind and Body too, upon the moderation of our Paſſions; whereas the Luſtful waſte and conſume away, becauſe they follow *Harlots, till a Dart ſtrikes through their Livers*; Now the great triumph of Senſuality is, where the Ear is fed with Muſick, the Eye with Beauty, the Smell with Perfumes, the Taſte with Banquets; what a Tumult do theſe various Objects raiſe within Men! What Feavers do they kindle in their Blood, by their delicious Meats, as well as by Wines and Strong Drinks!

Virtue eſtabliſhes our health and augments our eſtates.

But Virtue doth not only eſtabliſh Mens Health, but increaſes their Eſtates alſo; therefore the Wiſe-man hath placed in her left Hand Riches; which is brought to paſs by charging Men to be Faithful and True, diligent and induſtrious in their Callings: For as Study and Experience give more force to the Soul, than any diſpoſition whatever of the Body; ſo Induſtry and Intention of Mind upon Buſineſs, will ſuſtain a Man in every Eſtate, hath an in-

fluence upon his whole Life and Actions; 'tis true, very good Men may not arrive at much Plenty, yet their Vertue makes a compenſation in this Caſe, by making them contented with that competent Allowance which God ſhall allot them; for to a Man that is ſatisfied, Riches and Abundance are needleſs and ſuperfluous.

Vertue advances our Reputation.

NOW Vertue doth not only encreaſe our Eſtates, but it is a great advantage to our Reputation in the World; for prudent and ſubſtantial Piety is of high price to all, whoſe Judgments are valuable; when it is accompanied with ſerious Devotion to God, and real Effects of Charity before Men, it is honored among the worſt ſort of Mankind: every one therefore that is not forſaken of common Senſe, muſt take pleaſure in Vertue, when he ſees his Actions are conformed to the Sentiments of all good and worthy Perſons. He is above the Tongues of evil Men, and their Raillery will be in vain ſpent upon him, when every Action he does in the courſe of Vertue, will neceſſarily introduce him into the good Opinion of the beſt part of the World.

Vertue makes our Relations and Friends happy.

MORE than this, Vertue doth not only bring us a good Name, but above all things it doth conduce to the Happineſs of our Relations

lations and Friends; the goodneſs of God being ſo diffuſive, as to ſcatter *his Bleſſings round about the Habitation of the Juſt:* for Vertue tends to this from the Nature of the thing it ſelf, becauſe it lays the ſtricteſt Obligations upon Men to provide for their Families; which whoſoever neglects, he is reckoned worſe than an Heathen or Infidel: beſides, it is many times ſeen, that the Poſterity of ſuch as have given Teſtimony of their Goodneſs, Charity, and Kindneſs towards Men; of Piety and Devotion towards God, that their Relations have met with unexpected Kindneſſes from others upon their account, and for their ſakes have been eſpecially cared and provided for.

THUS Vertue is profitable for *our Health*, for *our Eſtates*, for *our Honor*, and for *our Relations:* it doth likewiſe *improve* our Underſtandings, and bring Peace to our Minds.

Vertue improves our Underſtandings.

1. IT makes us better acquainted with the great Intereſts of our Souls, and it doth alſo ſet us at liberty from the Dominion of *our Vices and Paſſions*, and teaches us to uſe much Conſideration and *weighing* of Things; for that a Man may be vertuous, it is not ſufficient, that he do vertuous Actions out of good Nature, Intereſt, or Paſſion, but he muſt do them diſcreetly and for good

ends, by deliberation and choice; for it hath been the Observation of all knowing Persons, and they have delivered it for a certain Rule, as hath also the holy Spirit and Wisdom of God himself, *That vertuous courses only together with God's Grace obtained by Prayer, are capable to make a man wise, that is, to direct his actions in such a manner, as he shall not need to repent of them:* Now an evil man seeks occasions to gratifie his Humor, and at best thinks to stop at *the Confines betwixt Passion and Vice*; but a wise Man avoids the occasions of Vice, which he looks upon as a disease of the Soul, contrary to the natural and due Constitution of it, and subverting its true *Tone* and *Disposition.* And that every Vice in particular is contrary to Prudence, appears; because Covetousness instead of Wisdom, introduceth Craft, Subtilty, and Deceitfulness; Pride breeds Confidence of a Mans self, and Contempt of others Advice; Lust is the Mother of Negligence and Inconstancy, and at length of that blindness of Understanding which renders Men uncapable of understanding such things especially as concern their Souls; but even such also as are advantageous to their temporal Welfare. Besides, Vertue doth most notoriously improve our Understandings

ſtandings by delivering us from the power of all Paſſions whatſoever; which is done by *regulating the Imagination*, whence they aroſe; that is, by ſubjecting it to Reaſon, that it may not without *Conſultation* follow the *Suggeſtions of Senſe*, and unruly *Motions of Appetite*; theſe being the Clouds that darken the Mind by a kind of *Phyſical and Natural Influence*: For as Intemperance and Exceſs do embaſe and clog our Minds, and glue them to the World, ſo they indiſpoſe them for all the Operations of the Spirit; Malice, Wrath, and Envy, fill us with Prejudice and falſe Apprehenſions of things; ſo that Mens Spirits under theſe Diſtempers are not pure, nor fine enough for their Reaſon; for as Clearneſs diſpoſeth the bodily Eye for a better and quicker ſight of material Objects; ſo the Purity of our Souls, that is, freedom from Luſt and Paſſion, fit us for Acts of Reaſon and Underſtanding. Now Vertue doth refine and purifie our Minds, by ſtifling the fumes and ſteams of every Vice and Paſſion, and the more a Man's Mind is cleanſed from theſe Filthineſſes, the more noble will it be in all its Operations; the more a Man is free from Paſſion, his Apprehenſion of Things will be more diſtinct and unprejudiced; and conſequently his

Judgment will be more ſteddy and better ſettled; for freedom from Paſſion doth not only ſignifie that a Man is wiſe, but really *contributes to the making of him ſuch.*

Vertue promotes the Peace of our Minds.

Secondly, VERTUE tends to the Peace of our Minds; therefore the Wiſe man declares, that her ways are ways of Pleaſantneſs, and all her Paths are Peace; which Peace and Pleaſure are brought to us by Vertue two ways:

Firſt, IN that it allays thoſe Storms of Paſſion which ruffle and diſcompoſe the Mind; for if we lay open the Soul with its Operations, we ſhall find, that Paſſions regulated by Reaſon or God's Spirit, are properly *Vertues*, and when they are not ſo *regulated*, they become Vices. Now Malice, Hatred, Revenge, Ill-will, Wrath, Impatience, are fretting Paſſions, and rob us of our Peace: they admit no Counſel, but are full of Tumult and Confuſion: it is not in the power of Reaſon to rule abſolutely over theſe untoward Affections; but becauſe Reaſon is ſometimes miſled, or obſtinately miſtaken, Almighty God has given us his holy Religion and his Spirit to govern Reaſon alſo, and render every Thought obedient to Faith. So that in Religion lies the univerſal and never failing Remedy of all the Evils of the Soul,

Soul, and an infallible Cure of thoſe Paſſions, that lye croſs to our Minds; which like ſmall Particles, that have rugged and ſharp Angles, do continually moleſt and grate upon us: but he that is free from the Tumults of theſe Paſſions, finds nothing but Sweetneſs and Contentment; the moderation whereof ought to be the chief aim of every one who deſires to be wiſe or to be quiet.

Vertue frees us from guilt and the fears of divine Wrath.

Secondly, VERTUE frees us from the anxiouſneſs of Guilt and the fears of divine Wrath, whereby it doth much promote our real Peace and Pleaſure; for what can be ſuppoſed to be more tormenting than the continual dreads of God's Anger? conſequently the Satisfaction muſt be as great, when God is reconciled to a Man and made his Friend: What Comfort and Joy doth a vertuous Perſon perceive in the ſenſe of his Love, in the ſerious Reflections on a well-ſpent Life, in the Conſcience of having acted uprightly in the chief buſineſs of Life! what pleaſure doth ſuch a Man take in his Service! what Peace in working Righteouſneſs! what Exultation and Triumph in the aſſured Hope and Expectation of future Glory!

As there are pure and refined Joys, ſweet and unmingled Delights in the ways of Ver-

tue;

tue; ſo on the contrary, the chief part of the Miſery of ungodly Men is this, that they are of a Temper which is naturally a diſquiet to it ſelf; and here the foundation of Hell is laid in the evil frame and diſpoſition of their own Spirits; when Men are not circumſpect in their Converſation, and very careful to walk in the ways of Godlineſs, eſpecially when the Confines of Vertue and Vice are ſo cloſe, and the exact Limits and Boundaries are ſo difficultly fixed: Until this raſh and inconſiderate running into Vice be cured, which only can be done by the practice of Virtue, it is as impoſſible that a Man ſhould be happy or pleaſed, as for a ſick Man to find eaſe by removing from one Bed to another, becauſe the Diſtemper is lodged within his Breaſt; all the Diſorders of which muſt be quieted before we can be happy, for Happineſs muſt be in our Hearts, and it muſt ſpring out of our own boſoms, and from thence, thro the comfortable influence of God's Holy Spirit, muſt all our Peace and Pleaſure flow. Wherefore I cannot conclude this whole Diſcourſe with a better or more perſuaſive Exhortation, than that which S. *Paul* makes uſe of to the *Philippians*, Phil. iv. 8. *Finally Brethren, whatſoever is right, ſincere, and true; what-*

whatſoever is comely, grave, and venerable; whatſoever is fair, juſt, and equal; whatſoever is ſacred, pure, and holy; whatſoever is generous, noble, and lovely; whatſoever is of credit, value, and eſteem; if there be any Vertue, if there be any Praiſe, think of theſe things.

FOR theſe things the *Lord* will have us to do, and his *Will* muſt be the Rule of all our Actions; whoſe Laws are like himſelf juſt and holy, pure and undefiled, unchangeable and everlaſting; fitted to the firſt Age of the World and to the laſt; to the wiſeſt, and to the ſimpleſt; to the times of Peace and of War, eſtabliſhed againſt all alterations and occurrences whatſoever: for there is no time in which a Man may not be *juſt and honeſt, merciful and compaſſionate, humble and ſincere*: a Converſation thus tempered we ought to continue and carry along through honor and diſhonor, through all the terrors which evil Men or Devils can place in our way: and if we conſider the Nature and Reaſon of Things, Virtue only doth qualifie and diſpoſe us for the injoyment of God; becauſe it quiets the Mind, rectifies all its Faculties, governs the Affections, cleanſes the whole Soul from all ſin and pollution: whereas if it were poſſible

God's Will muſt be the Rule of our Actions.

Vertue only doth qualifie us for the injoyment of God.

ſible for a wicked Man to be admitted into the preſence of God or a local Heaven, to ſee all the glories and delights of that Place and State, all this would ſignifie no more to make him happy and contented, than heaps of Gold, and Conſorts of Muſick, a well ſpread Table, or a rich Bed can bring any relief to a Man in the Paroxiſm of a Fever, or in a ſharp fit of the Stone; the Reaſon is, becauſe the Man's Spirit will ſtill be out of order, till he be put into a right Frame by Virtue and Godlineſs.

Men are apt to miſtake their Happineſs.

'Tis true, all Men *naturally* deſire eaſe and happineſs, becauſe all *Natures* would fain be pleaſed and contented; but they hunt after it, where it is not to be found: Men ſay, loe *here is happineſs*, and loe *there*, in a high Place, in a great Eſtate, or in earthly Delights; but *believe* them not, they are all *ſhadows*, when you come to embrace them; therefore your Happineſs muſt be nearer and more intimate to your Minds, than any thing this World can afford: for thoſe who look after the Pomps of this World, grow vain and inconſtant, lazy and negligent: thoſe who covet the applauſe of the People, are often diſappointed of the felicity they hoped for, becauſe the People guide not themſelves *by Reaſon*, but *Chance*:

All

All outward things coming thus ſhort of rendering us Happy, we muſt expect our Happineſs in obſerving the Duties, and in obeying the Precepts of *Virtue*; becauſe they are upon all accounts for our advantage, and are founded upon the Intereſts of Mankind; ſo that if it were not, that the *God of this World* did blind Mens Eyes, and abuſe their Underſtandings from diſcerning their true Intereſt; it were impoſſible ſo long as Men love themſelves, and have a deſire of their own Happineſs, but they ſhould be *virtuous*: for God promiſeth to make Men happy for ever, upon condition that they will do thoſe things that will make them happy and eaſie in this World: conſidering our infinite obligations to God, the unqueſtionable Right and Title he hath to us, and his Sovereign Authority over us, he might have impoſed Laws, and have given us ſuch Statutes, as were not ſo good for us; but ſo gracious a Maſter hath he been, as to link together our Duty and our Intereſt, and to make thoſe things inſtances of our Obedience, which are *Natural* means and *Cauſes* of our *Happineſs*.

If men ſought their true Happineſs they muſt be Virtuous.

IT hath been antiently obſerved, that *Pythagoras* his Learning ended in a few *Muſical jingles*; *Thales* his Wiſdom in ſome uncertain

tain *Aſtronomical ſanſies*; *Heraclitus* his Contemplations concluded in *Solitude and weeping*; *Socrates* his Renowned Philoſophy led him to the practice of unnatural Luſt; *Diogenes* his ſharpneſs of Wit, to uſe his body to endure all manner of naſtineſs and coarſe Labour; *Epicurus* his Inventions and Diſcourſes, of which he boaſts ſo much, ſet him down contented with any kind of pleaſure. The ſame thing may be ſaid of the *Stoicks* and *Peripateticks*.

Religion is the ſureſt foundation of our Hopes.

WE muſt therefore be much out of the way, if we ſearch for Happineſs in their Leſſons, and neglect our moſt Holy Religion; which whoſoever does, he will unſettle the ſtrongeſt Foundation of our hopes, he will make a terrible confuſion in all the Offices and Opinions of Men; he will deſtroy the moſt prevailing *Argument to Virtue*; he will remove all human Actions from their firmeſt Centre; he will deprive himſelf of the prerogative of his immortal Soul, and will have the ſame ſucceſs, that the *ancient Fables* make thoſe to have had, who contended with their *Gods*, of whom they report, that many were immediately turned *into Beaſts*. Whereas if we *were* to *contrive* a *way* to make our *ſelves happy*, we ſhould pitch upon juſt ſuch *Laws* as thoſe of Chriſtianity

ſtianity are; they are ſo agreeable to the Frame of our Natures and Underſtandings; they require of us ſo Rational and Spiritual a ſervice of God; they oblige us to perform Duties ſo plainly neceſſary and beneficial to us; the harſheſt and moſt difficult Precepts thereof tending upon one account or other to our manifeſt advantage; it being very reaſonable for a Man to be ſorry for what he hath done amiſs, and to amend his Life for the future; to mortifie Luſts and Paſſions, which are ſo diſorderly and troubleſom to the Mind; to bring down every proud Thought, which fills a Man with inſolence and contempt of others; to be patient in the meaneſt Condition, which will prevent thoſe anxieties that come from the contrary Paſſions; to love Enemies, and forgive Injuries; which removes the perpetual torments of a malicious and revengeful Spirit.

The Laws of Chriſt are moſt agreeable to the frame of our Natures.

FOR a Man is accompliſhed by two things:

Firſt, BY his being enlightened in his intellectual Faculties, which is the perfection of his Underſtanding.

Secondly, BY his being *well* directed in his Morals, to *refuſe evil* and to *do good*, wherein conſiſts the goodneſs of his Mind.

NOW

Now the Doctrine of our Bleſſed Saviour tends to purge out of the Mind all vicious and depraved Affections, and to ſow therein the Seeds of Grace and Virtue; for his whole Sermon on the Mount tends to implant in us a *pure Heart*, a *right Mind*, *clean Affections*, an *obedient Will*, and a *ſound Underſtanding*: for the effecting of which, obſerve the admirable contrivance of the Divine Wiſdom, after Mankind was broken and loſt by the fall of *one*, that another ſhould be raiſed out of his Root, who ſhould ſatisfie the offended God; ſhould beget a new Generation of Men out of the old Stock, and advance the new Nature to a higher degree of Holineſs than before: for ſin is the greateſt pollution, exorbitance, and degeneracy of an intelligent Agent; it is worſe than rottenneſs and corruption in natural things; for theſe act according to the courſe of their own Natures: but we, as we are intelligent Beings, are under the obligation of a Rule, and to vary from that Law is a violent and and monſtrous thing; for all the departures from right Reaſon in Underſtanding Beings *are privatively Evils*, and therefore moſt highly diſpleaſing unto God; becauſe all iniquity and ſin is a contradiction to the unchangeable Laws of Goodneſs and Truth, which

Sin is the greateſt degeneracy of an intelligent Being.

which is the *Law of Heaven*, from which God in the fulneſs of his Liberty, and the greatneſs of his Power doth never depart: therefore we may ſay that all Vice doth offer violence to the Principles of God's Creation; and that which is *unnatural* in the inferior World, is nothing ſo horrid as that which is *irrational* in the ſuperiour: Now ſee what the conſequence is of unnatural things in the lower World. Should the Sun leave its Courſe, and inſtead of being the Fountain of Light, ſhould ſend forth nothing but ſtench and darkneſs; how prodigious, and how terrible would this be! Yet whoſoever acts againſt the Divine Will, and the Dictates of right Reaſon, doth a thing more frightful than all this, more violent and miſchievous, than if the Fire ſhould ceaſe to burn, or the Courſe of Nature ſhould fail. But our Saviour both by his Precepts, and by his Example, hath taught us to act according to the Reaſon of things; ſo that we muſt love that which is *Equal* and *Right*, that which is true and good in its own Nature, that which is juſt and fit according to the Mind and Will of God: theſe are ſuch certain Laws and Principles of Action, that it is not in the power of Men or Angels to control any of them: and if we vary from them,

Our Saviour teaches us to act according to the Reaſon of things.

them, we expoſe our ſelves to endleſs miſery, we ſpoil our Natures, and the beſt Principles thereof; which are recovered by Chriſt Jeſus his being *Sanctification* to us; which cleanſes us from all filthineſs, and ſets the diſpoſitions of our Minds right: the Principles of whoſe Religion do not appear, *as Spells and Charms*, but they operate by the illumination of the Mind and Underſtanding; for in the *intellectual World* the Principles of Knowledge and Underſtanding are every way as vigorous, as the properties and qualities in *Nature* are, only theſe Act by the way of Reaſon and information of the Mind: for in all the Virtues that are charged upon us by our Saviour, there is an agreeableneſs to the innate Notions of our Minds and Conſciences; they do all accord with the natural Conceptions we have of what *is juſt and fit to be done*: therefore all his Commandments are the reſolutions of true Reaſon, and when once they are received into the Temper and Conſtitution of our Souls, they will make us to be of the ſame Mind as he was, that is, truly *Wiſe, Holy, and Good*: for his Doctrine and his Example are Arguments of Reaſon, ſufficient to make us wiſe, to deliver us from the power and habits of Vice, and to reſcue

us

us from the Uſurpations of the Devil: Now theſe are as true Principles of Action upon an intelligent Being, as any natural Qualities are in inferiour Nature; and they will produce Inviſible, but vital and Spiritual effects with a power much above what *natural Agents* can exert; for as he, who gives himſelf up to Wickedneſs, will never want a Superiour Agent to carry him on, and make him more villanous and wretched; ſo on the contrary whoſoever watches over himſelf, and employs his faculties to the *doing* of *good*, ſhall ever have the aſſiſtance of the Divine Spirit to help him; and indeed the Chriſtian Religion doth that, which is ſolid and ſubſtantial, permanent and laſting, if it do not obtain this effect in us, of Reconciling our Minds and Diſpoſitions to the Mind and Will of God; and when the *ſame Mind is in us, which was in Chriſt Jeſus*, of what ſtrong and firm a temper will our Hearts be made! What courage ſhall we have, even when few comforters, ſcarce any, but Enemies are near us! Goodneſs, gentleneſs, patience, which are the Mind of Chriſt, by all *true Philoſophy*, are eſteemed to proceed from the greateſt ſtrength of Nature; by all *true Chriſtianity*,

from the higheſt Degree of Grace: Nay when we have the ſame Mind with him, what Bravery of Spirit will the World diſcern to be in us! We ſhall not then be afraid of the moſt exact and ſevere obſervations of what we do; nothing will appear in our Diſcourſes but *Truth* and *Sincerity*; nothing in our Lives, but *Honeſty* and *Plain-dealing*: in all our private Actions will be ſeen the moſt unaffected modeſty, in all our publick, a good Conſcience and a love of Virtue.

A pure Mind thus eſtabliſhed and firmly rooted in us, will never be diſcompoſed nor ſhaken by ungovernable Paſſions; we ſhall feel the comforts of the Evangelical Doctrin; our lives will ſhew the excellencies of it: May we all therefore endeavour to expreſs our Affections to our Saviour, by living comformable to the moſt perfect Example of Virtue and Piety: for from his Example we fetch the moſt uſeful Inſtructions, how to ſubmit to the hardeſt conditions of Life, to endure mildly the rigours of the worſt State, to Pardon and bear the Affronts of Enemies; in the various Turns of the World always to practiſe *Righteouſneſs* and *Mercy*, *Meekneſs* and *Long-ſuffering*: To implore Gods help by acknowledg-

Our Saviours example leads us into the practice of all manner of Virtue.

ledging our Obligations to Him for all, that *we have*, and *do* enjoy; to moderate our appetites and deſires in reference to the pleaſures of this World, and to uſe them according to Reaſon and Nature; to be *True* and *Faithful*, *Juſt* and *Righteous* in all our Actions; to be kind and merciful, ready to do good to all, and to relieve them, that are in want; to be ſatisfied in every condition, whether it be high or low; to be meek and gentle, becauſe the Meek Man, hath always the Government of his Mind and is never diſturbed by Paſſion; to be tender Hearted and Pityful, becauſe cruelty and oppreſſion are an offence to God and a provocation to Men; to reſign our ſelves up to the direction of God's Providence, that Governs the World, leaving all iſſues and future Succeſſes, to the Wiſe Determination of the Divine Will: To hold to the Practice of *Truth*, becauſe a Man's Heart will never miſgive him in her ways; not to diſſemble, but to deal openly with Mankind, becauſe this behaviour will make our paſſage eaſie through the World; We ſhall have none to oppoſe, none to do us harm; to be humble and ſober in the judgment we make of our ſelves, becauſe Self-confidence and Self-Conceit render Men

Fools; to be Peace-makers and compoſe Differences; to endure Wrongs patiently, to forbear Revenge, and to love our Enemies, becauſe God does ſo in Nature, while he cauſes the Sun to riſe upon Good and Bad; to paſs charitable Judgments upon others, becauſe this is the way to make an Enemy a Friend; to give real demonſtrations of our Integrity and Goodneſs by the fruits of it, becauſe Men diſparage Religion who profeſs it, and do not guide their Actions according to its Doctrines; to ſubmit our Senſes, and inferiour Affections to the Dictates of ſober Reaſon and true Underſtanding, becauſe Mind and Underſtanding is appointed by God to be his ſubordinate Governor in human Life; to be modeſt and chaſt in our Converſation, becauſe Modeſty ſecures the Mind from *Pride*, and *Chaſtity* preſerves the Body from the worſt Indiſpoſitions.

THUS Chriſt Jeſus hath ſhewn us an Example of all Moral Vertues; and an Example in ſome reſpect hath an Advantage above a Rule, for it ſhews in what way the Rule is practicable; and it is a Reproach to any Man not to be able to do or ſuffer, what others have done before him. Seeing then God hath taken ſuch care that we ſhould know our Duty, and hath made thoſe things Inſtan-

Inſtances of our Obedience, which are the natural means and cauſes of our Happineſs, we are altogether without excuſe if we do it not; and we incur the heavy Sentence pronounced by our Savior, this is the *Condemnation, that Light is come into the World, and Men love darkneſs rather than Light*; for whoever does any thing that is *evil*, acts againſt the Convictions of his own Mind, and the *Light* that ſhines in his own Soul: beſides, What Advantage is it that Wickedneſs brings to Men? *Name me that Vice* which improves our Reaſon, or makes us e'er a whit the wiſer; that tends to the Peace and Satisfaction of our Minds, or to our Health and Credit amongſt conſiderate Perſons.

IF then it be Vertue that points out to us the moſt compendious and ready way to Happineſs, we may ſee where our true Intereſt lies: let us not ſuffer our ſelves to be cheated of it by the little Arts of Vice, or the Inſinuations of a Temptation; than which there can be nothing more to our prejudice, even as to our temporal Concerns; for every known and deliberate Sin that a Man commits, is a flaw in his Title to his Eſtate, not in reſpect of *Men*, but of *God*, who is the great Governor of the World, the wiſe Diſpoſer of the Fortunes of Mankind.

Moral Vertue is the foundation of all revealed Religion.

AND the Scripture doth every where ſpeak of Moral Vertue, as the Foundation of all revealed and inſtituted Religion; therefore our Savior, when he was asked, which was the firſt and great Commandment of the Law, anſwers, Thou ſhalt love the Lord thy God with all thy Heart, and thy Neighbour as thy ſelf: A Jew would have thought that he would have pitch'd upon ſome of thoſe things which were in ſo great eſteem among them, Sacrifices, Circumciſion, or the Sabbath. But he overlooks all theſe, and inſtances in the two principal Duties of Morality, the Love of God, and of our Neighbour: and theſe Moral Duties are thoſe which he calls the *Law* and the *Prophets*, and which he came not to deſtroy, but to fulfil: for the Judicial and Ceremonial Law of the Jews was to paſs away, and did ſo not long after, but this Law of Moral Duty was to be perpetual and immutable. And the keeping of this Law conſiſted in the Obſervation of ſuch things, which the Scribes and Phariſees did moſt of all neglect; therefore he tells us, that unleſs our Righteouſneſs did exceed the Righteouſneſs of the Scribes and Phariſees, we could not enter into the Kingdom of Heaven. Now theſe Men were the moſt punctual People in the World for obſerving

ſerving the Jewiſh and Ceremonial Law: and whereas they were obliged to pay Tithes of their more conſiderable things, they would do it even of *Mint*, *Aniſe*, and *Cummin*. But then they were defective in Moral Duty; they were unnatural to their Parents in denying them Relief, becauſe their Eſtates, as they pretended, were dedicated to an holy Uſe: they were unjuſt, and under a ſhew of long Prayers devoured Widows Houſes; in a Word, as our Saviour tells 'em, they neglected both Mercy and Judgment, which are the weightier things of the Law, which whoſoever neglects, he can never pleaſe God with any inſtituted or poſitive part of Religion; and throughout the Old Teſtament, nothing is declared more abominable to him *than Sacrifices*, as long as Men allowed themſelves in wicked Practices. And in the New Teſtament, the Chriſtian Religion chiefly deſigns to teach Mankind Righteouſneſs, Godlineſs, and Sobriety: and for this end was the glorious Appearance of the great God and our Savior Jeſus Chriſt, who gave himſelf for us, that he might redeem us from all Iniquity, and purifie to himſelf a peculiar People zealous of good Works; and to deal honeſtly with every Man, to ſpeak Truth to our Neigh-

Neighbour, and to have our Converſation void of Offence, is called *the Image of God and the new Creature*; and the Apoſtle advanceth Charity above the greateſt Excellencies of Knowledge and of Faith; and in the deſcription of the Day of Judgment Men are repreſented by our Saviour, as call'd to an account, both as to the Practice and Neglect of *Moral Duties*; and no others are inſtanced in, to ſhew, what Place he intended they ſhould have in his Religion.

Therefore from all that hath been ſaid upon this Subject, we may infer,

Poſitive Inſtitutions muſt give way to Moral Virtue.

First, THAT all *Poſitive Inſtitutions* muſt give way to *Moral Duties*; becauſe God hath declared, that *He would rather have Mercy than Sacrifice*, and whoſoever violates any Natural Law, he undermines the very Foundation of Religion; which hath very little in it, that is poſitive, beſides the *two Sacraments*, and going to God in the Name of Jeſus Chriſt: for this the greateſt and moſt perfect Revelation, that ever God made to Mankind, doth afford us the beſt helps and advantages for the performing of Moral Duty, and produces the ſtrongeſt Arguments to engage us thereunto.

Secondly, GOD hath diſcovered our Duty to us in ſuch ways, as may encourage us

us to the practice of it; for we are prompted to it by a kind of natural Inſtinct; we are led to the knowledge of it by Reaſon, by the general vote of Mankind, and by the moſt powerful and prevailing Paſſions of Human Nature, Hope, Fear, and Shame: And to take away all excuſe of ignorance from us, by an expreſs Revelation from himſelf: ſo that whenever we omit our Duty, or do any thing contrary to it, we offend againſt all theſe, and incur the heavy ſentence pronounced by our Saviour, that *Light is come into the World, and men love darkneſs rather than Light*; for he that doth evil, acts againſt the Convictions of his own Mind, and the Light that ſhines in his own Soul.

Thirdly, PIETY towards God, Righteouſneſs, Juſtice, and Charity towards Men, are more pleaſing to God and more valuable, that if we ſhould offer to him all the Beaſts of the Foreſt, or the Cattle upon a thouſand Hills; for to the ſtrict obſervance of theſe Duties we are directed and obliged by our very Nature, and the moſt Sacred Law, which God hath written upon our Hearts; and that we might have no pretence to take us off from them, God hath freed us in the Goſpel from thoſe many Obſervances, and burden-

burdenſom Ceremonies, wherewith the Religion of the *Jews* was incumbred, that we might better mind Moral Duties, and live in the practice of them.

Fourthly, WE ſee in the laſt place, what is the beſt way to appeaſe the wrath of God, and to reconcile our ſelves to him; God ſeems oftentimes to have a Controverſie with us, as with his People of old; and at ſuch times we are apt to ask, as they did, *wherewith ſhall we come before the Lord, and bow our ſelves before the moſt high God!* And we are apt to think, as they did, that the next way to pleaſe him is by *external Worſhip and Devotion*, which may be good and neceſſary; but theſe are not the things that God doth mainly require of us: it is true, *Prayers, hearing the Word of God, and receiving the Sacraments* are to be performed; but theſe are but means to a further End, and ſerve to engage us to the practice of the *great and eſſential Duties of Chriſtianity*, and to promote the Virtues of a good Life: There doth appear in many Men a great deal of external Devotion, but their Lives and Manners are generally very corrupt, and the *weighty things of the Law are neglected*, as Juſtice, Righteouſneſs, and Mercy; ſo that we may take up the complaint of the Royal Pſalmiſt,

help

help Lord, for the *Righteous man ceaſeth, and the faithful fail*; and till we return to our antient Virtue and Integrity of Life, we have reaſon to think and fear, that God will continue to have *a Controverſie with us*, notwithſtanding all our Zeal and Noiſe about his Religion; which muſt prevail with us to do Juſtly, to love Mercy, and to walk humbly with our God; otherwiſe it will ſeem to have leſs power and efficacy, than *Natural Agents* have: But if we are truly religious, there is an imperceptible ſpring, that guides all our Motions in the Path of *Virtue*; for we cannot ſee, at what paſſage the good Thought entred, neither can we perceive how the good Spirit infuſes a Pious deſire. Thus it is in Nature, we ſee the Sun ſhine, and can feel his warmth, but we diſcern not how he enters into the Bowels of the Earth; how his little Atoms ſteal into the ſecret Pores of Plants; how he impregnates Nature with new Life; nay we feel not, how our own Spirits move, how they ſtart and flie, as quick, as we think, from one end of our Nerves to the other, ſo undiſcernable, and ſo puiſſant is the working of God's Grace in the change of our Minds into an heavenly Temper, in imprinting upon our Souls the fair and lovely Notions of Goodneſs and Truth;

Truth; in laying in our Minds the Seeds of a bleſſed Immortality, whereby the Soul will be gradually exalted to the utmoſt Perfection in all the *Parts* and *Faculties* thereof: that is, the Underſtanding will be raiſed to the *utmoſt* Capacity, and *that Capacity* completely filled: the *Will* will be perfected with abſolute and indefective Holineſs, with exact Conformity to the Will of God, and perfect liberty from all ſervitude of Sin; it ſhall be troubled with no doubtful choice, but with its radical and fundamental Freedom, ſhall fully imbrace the *greateſt good*. The *Affections* ſhall be all ſet right by an unalterable Regulation, and in that *regularity*, ſhall receive abſolute ſatisfaction: To this internal Perfection will be added a condition proportionably Happy, conſiſting in an entire freedom from all Pain, Miſery, Labour and Want, an impoſſibility of ſinning and offending God; an Hereditary Poſſeſſion of *all good*, with an unſpeakable complacency and joy flowing from it.

By Grace and Virtue the Mind is fitted for an everlaſting State of Happineſs.

F I N I S.

BOOKS Printed for and Sold by Charles Harper *at the* Flower-de-Luce *over against S.* Dunſtan's *Church in* Fleetſtreet.

DOctor *Willis*'s Practiſe of *Phyſick*, being the whole Works of that Renowned and Famous Phyſician, Rendred into *Engliſh*. Second Edit. with Fourty Copper Plates, *Fol.*

The Hiſtorical and Miſcellaneous Tracts of the Reverend and Learned *Peter Heylyn*, D.D. Now Collected into one Vol. And An Account of the Life of the Author, never before Publiſhed, *Fol.*

The Religion of Proteſtants a ſafe Way to Salvation, with a Diſcourſe of the Apoſtolical Inſtitution of Epiſcopacy. By *W. Chillingworth*, M. A. To which in this Edit. is added, ſhewing the Reaſon why he left Popery, *Fol.*

The Hiſtory of *Queen Elizabeth*: By *W. Cambden* King at Arms. Fourth Edition, *Fol.*

The Second and Third Parts of the Works of Mr. *Abraham Cowley*, The Second containing what was Written and Publiſhed by himſelf in his younger Years: Now Reprinted together. Sixth Edition. The Third Part containing his Six Books of Plants never before Publiſhed in *Engliſh*, *viz.* The Firſt and Second of Herbs, The Third and Fourth of Flowers, The Fifth and Sixth of Trees: Now made *Engliſh* by ſeveral Hands, with neceſſary Tables to both Parts, and divers Poems in Praiſe of the Author, Fol.

An Impartial Collection of the great Affairs of State, from the beginning of the *Scotch* Rebellion in the year 1639, to the Murther of King *Charles* the Firſt, Fol. in 2 Vol.

Dugdales Monaſticon Anglicanum, Fol.

The Hiſtory of the Life, Reign and Death of *Edward* II. King of *England* and Lord of *Ireland*, Fol.

The Laws of *Jamaica*, Fol.

Dr. *Willis*'s, practical Part of Phyſick. 8o.

Biſhop *Ushers* Power of the Prince, and the Obedience required of the Subject, with a large Preface by Biſhop *Sanderſon*, 8o.

Some Animadverſions upon a Book Intituled, The Theory of the Earth, By *Herbert* Lord Biſhop of *Hereford*, 8o.

Law Books.

The Lord *Cokes* Reports in *Engliſh*, Fol.

Judg *Crook*'s Reports in 3 Vol. the Third Edit. with References

J64313
5515-8

ferences to all the late Reports, Fol.

The Lord *Coke's* Commentary on *Littleton*, Fol.

——— His Commentary on *Magna Charta*, Fol.

——— His Pleas of the Crown, of the Third Part of the Institutes, Fol.

——— His Jurisdiction of Courts, or Fourth Part o the Institutes.

——— His Eleven Reports in French, Fol.

Bulstrode's Reports with new References, Fol.

Leonard's Reports in Four Parts with new References, I

The Year-Books in 10. Vol. the last Edit. with new No and Tables to them all, Fol.

The Reports of the Lord Keeper *Littleton*, in the time of King *Charles* I. Fol.

The Reports of the learned Judge Sir *Henry Hobart*, the Fourth Edition corrected and amended, Fol.

Reports in the Court of *King's Bench* at *Westminster*, from the 12th. to the 30th. Year of King *Charles* II. by *Jos. Keble* of *Grays-Inn*, Esq; in 3. Vol. Fol.

Kelway's Reports with new References to all the lat. Reports, Fol.

Reports of several especial Cases in the Court of Common Pleas, by *S. Carter* of the Inner *Temple* Esq; Fol.

An Assistance to Justices of the Peace, for the easier Performance of their Duty, the First Part, containing the particular Clauses of all such Statutes from *Magna Charta*, untill the 1st. of King *James* II. that do any ways concern a Justice of Peace; in the other Part, the whole Office of a Justice of Peace is methodically digested, with the most approved Presidents under proper Heads, to which is now added a Table for the ready finding out the Presidents, never before Printed. by *Jos. Keble* of *Grays-Inn*, Esq;.

An exact Abridgement of the Records in the Tower of *London*, being of great Use for all that are concerned in Parliamentary Affairs, and Professors of the Laws of this Realm, collected by Sir *Robert Cotton* Knight and Baronet. Fol.

An exact Abridgment of all the Statutes in force and use from the Beginning of *Magna Charta*; begun by *Edmond Wingate* of *Grays-Inn* Esq;, and since continued und their proper Titles Alphabetically, by *J. Wastingem* of t Middle *Temple*, Esq; to the Year 1689. In this Impressi many Hundreds of false References are corrected with gre Exactness and Care.